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LOKESH CHANDRA & PERALA RATNAM

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specialists of the East and the West

Founded by
RAGHU VIRA *M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt. et Phil.*

आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

**एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं**

शतपिटकम्

ACHARYA RAGHUVIRA (1902-1963)

PENTTI AALTO, HELSINKI

FROM MYTH TO TALE

Yā ca kā ca balakṛtir Indrakarmaiva tat.
Niruktam 7.10

1. In a paper entitled "Myth and Story" (*Numen* 1, 1954, p. 184 ff.) Theodor H. Gaster divides the evolution of the functional character of a myth into four stages: (1) in the "primitive stage" the myth is the direct accompaniment of a ritual, (2) in the "dramatic stage" we have an "actual pantomimic representation of the story", (3) in the "liturgical stage" the story is recited "to set forth the overall significance" of the ceremony, (4) in the "literary stage" the myth has become a mere tale. If we study the geographical spread of the Aryan myth of the slaying of Vṛtra by Indra we can, as it were, also follow the functional attenuation of the myth into a mere tale. However, the stages are perhaps not quite identical with those suggested by Gaster.

2. In the oldest monument of Mongolian literature, the Secret History (dated 1240 A.D.) which shows many epical features, we twice meet the name *Mangus*, which obviously designates a supernatural being. In a metrical passage (§ 78) the mother of Chingiz Khan scolds her sons, comparing them to the "Mangus who wants to devour the living beings". In another, likewise metrical passage (§ 195) Jamukha describes the army of Chingiz to the enemy king Tayang Khan, and thus characterizes the hero Joči-Khasar as "a man not like the other men but born like the Serpentine Mangus". In the old Chinese version of the work the name is rendered by *mang* 'a giant serpent' (Giles 7671). In the Mongol translation of the Bodhicaryāvatāra (dat. 1312 A.D.) it is said 4.158a *dakinis mayus terigüten nigüleskü sedkil-ten boltuyai* 'let the ḍākinīs and the mayus have a compassionate mind.' The corresponding passage of the Sanskrit original shows that *mayus* is meant to render *rākṣasa*. In his commentary to the Mongol text F.W. Cleaves (*HJAS* 17, 1954, p. 99 n. 102) interprets *mayus* as a plural of the adjective *mayu(i)* 'bad, evil, wicked'. However, in the translation of 10.30 *mayun*, the plural of *mayui*, renders Skr. *nīcāḥ*. In the oldest Mongol translation of the Pañcarakṣā (14th c.) Skr. *rakṣas* ~ *rākṣasa* is rendered by *raksas* while in the younger ones we meet *mangus*.

It seems probable that, as suggested by Lörincz (p. 312) *mayus* is a synonym of *mangus*; both words still occur today in the Mongol languages.

According to Räsänen (p. 327b, 331b, 340b) *mangus* and *maγus* occur in some Turkic languages, too. Ramstedt (p. 269b) derives Kalmuck *mūs* 'a giant with supernatural power' from the Iranian designation of the magian, viz. Old Persian *magav-*, Young-Avestan *moγu-*, also comparing Uigur *moγoč* 'magician, soothsayer'. Since, however, in the living Turkic languages the meaning 'strong, heroic', etc. of this latter word seems to be prevalent, Tokharian *mokats* 'strong' should probably be taken into account. On the other hand, the words *maγus* and *mangus* may be quite independent of each other.

3. In the orally transmitted popular epics of the Mongols the hero often enough conquers just such a *mangus*. Interesting samples occur e.g. in the collection of Mongol folklore noted down between 1898 and 1912 by the Finnish scholar G.J. Ramstedt (1873-1950). Ramstedt's items are valuable additions to the material used by Lörincz. The main characteristics of a *mangus* are the many heads, the serpentine body and anthropophagy. As to the colour, the mangus is often *xara* 'black' but also *šara* 'yellow'. Yellow is especially in Iran the characteristic colour of a mythical dragon. The epithets of a mangus seem to be greatly determined by the alliteration which is a rule not only in the Mongol epic poetry put in the prose tales, too. The alliteration often distorts the expressions for the serpentine character of the mangus' body and makes them difficult to identify. In Ramstedt's material (I p. 23) *arwan tawan tolgoitē/ atgar xara manggas* 'the fifteen-headed serpentine black m.'. The epithet (I p. 93, *atgir*, p. 165 *atgar*, IIp. 103 *atxar*) obviously renders Lit. Mo. *atuγar* 'contorted, twisted, bent'. In some cases (I p. 238 and 277) this epithet has obviously been supplied with a superfluous suffix: these formations have the appearance of improvisations. Even in those cases in which the mangus is said to have twenty-five heads the singer is able to find an alliterating epithet having the meaning 'serpentine': (I p. 149) *xorin tawun tologoetē / xotxor xara manggus*. Here *xotxor* is obviously identical with Lit. Mo. *qotoγor* 'concave, hollow'. When, however, the singer lets the number of heads grow, the alliterating attributes begin to sound odd. I p. 254 we thus meet *gunan* 'three years old (animal)', *dönön* 'four years old (animal)' alliterating with *gutšin tawan* '35' and *dötšin tawan* '45' as number of the heads. The attribute *inderwē* (=*indermän*) alliterating with *(j)iren tawun* '95' seems to be a derivation of *inder* 'stage, platform', etc.; I p. 31 the number of heads is not mentioned and the alliteration seems to be a "horizontal" one: *xabxā xara mangasın xü xadžik xara mangas getsi* 'xabxā xara m.'s son called xadžik x. m.'. The attributes or names seem to be connected with LMo. *qabqa* 'trap, snare', and *qaǰi* 'crooked, wry, concavity', and thus to refer to the serpentine form.

After having described both the hero (I p. 152 the hero is Chingiz himself!) and his surroundings as well as the mangus in detail, the singing story-tellers narrate the meeting and battle of these two. The defeated mangus often implores the hero for mercy, but the hero slays him and takes his wives and other possessions. I p. 87 the hero shoots the 95-headed mangus into two pieces with an arrow, and out of the mangus' belly come people and camels in great numbers. In the prose story No 47 (II p. 103) the mighty serpentine mangus with ten black heads rules the weather. He is made to believe that the *Otxan Tengri* ('Fire-King God') will slay him with his thunderbolt, and then the hero kills him by a trick. In No. 18 (I p. 255) the soul of the 95-headed mangus is a brown, gigantic serpent. The hero kills this serpent, pulls its belly out, and out of the belly come numerous people.[1]

4. In Ramstedt's collection of Kalmuck folklore we meet *mūs* (< *mayus*) and *mangus* as demons; the latter especially is also anthropophagous. In story No. 21 (II p. 194) the Serpentine Black Mūs with 25 heads is killed by the three-year-old hero who sets free innumerable human beings and cattle out of the belly of the mūs and then burns the corpse. Mostaert in his Ordos dictionary (p. 454b) quotes under *manggus* an expression 'the twelve-headed twisted black m.', but in his collection of Ordos folklore I have not been able to find any corresponding tale. As to *mūs* (p. 476b) he has only *mūs emegen* 'the m.-woman living in the moon'. In Poppe's collection of Mongol folklore we meet e.g. (p. 94) a black mangus with 15 heads and a serpentine body. The epithets of the mangus in the material treated by Lörincz also refer to a serpentine body, cf e.g. Buriat Mongol *žarākhai m.* 'the leech m.', as far as they can be lexically identified. Schröder describes (p. 75ff.) the Monguor tales about the feminine nine-headed *Manggudze* who together with her daughters devours cattle and people. The heads are cut and the devoured beings come out. The corpse is burned.

Lörincz points out that the *mangus*, though being serpentine, is quite different from the dragon called *luu* or *luus*. This latter term has in my opinion been borrowed from Tib. *klu* translating Skr. *nāga* which in the Buddhist tradition are benevolent beings. Though in the Mongol mangus epics and tales

[1] In No. 21 (I p. 277f.) the hero Tom Thumb at first slays two manguses and then meets the two Blue Bulls of Heaven. He kills one of them and takes the other as booty: several details can thus be identified with obvious Aryan contacts. The two bulls might also be connected with the double animals known as ornaments from various archaeological sites, e.g. Tell Asmar ca. 3000 B.C., Luristan 1000 B.C., etc., cf. "Regenkamm und Himmelsrind" by M. Weyersberg and H. Lommel, *Paideuma* 1, Leipzig 1938-40, pp. 120-146.

many secondary features bear clear marks of Buddhistic influence, the person of the mangus is obviously of pre-Buddhic origin.

5. In an investigation into the etymology of the name *mangus* H. Halén compares with this demon with certain monsters in Turkic folklore, called *Yelbegen* and *Dzalmauz*. The above Mongol names, too, have been borrowed into certain neighbouring Turkic languages. The being itself seems to be independent of the names of which the Mongol ones seem to remain without a convincing etymology. The Turkic designations, however, seem somewhat clearer. Halén succeeds (p. 80 ff.) in explaining with great probability the type *yelbegen* from Turkic roots meaning 'to blow (wind), to eat, to run', and *dzalmauz* from roots meaning 'to lick, to gorge', perhaps combined with the word for 'mouth'. Several forms look rather accidental and do not obey any rules of derivation. Alliteration, popular etymology, etc. have obviously played an important part in their formation.

6. In his study about the heroic epic of the Minussinsk Tatars Schiefner quotes under No VIII a tale about Katai-Khan and his son Busalei. A golden serpent with a silver horn (cf. the Avestan *Aži Srvara*) appears before the Khan, who seems to turn into stone. The serpent dashes him to the ground with its tail and robs his three-year-old son. After seven days the Khan comes to his senses, takes his arrow and kills the serpent. Out of its dead body come crowds of heroes with their horses, and he also finds his son in a golden box. Later a horrible drought comes, the Khan's son Busalei finds out that the "Swan-Lady" has stopped the waters with the fold of her dress. Busalei kills the Swan-Lady, her husband Yilbegen and their son Yidar-Mös (cf. *Vṛtra* and *Dānu*). In No XIII a three-year-old boy is called to fight against the demon Ai-Kün ("Moon-Sun") by the seven gods, seventy kings and seventy heroes. After an exhausting battle the boy bears the demon on his shoulders to a mountain and binds his hands and feet. However, he is able to kill the demon only after having found his soul, which was hidden in a saddle-bag and guarded by a twelve-headed serpent. When the boy has slain the demon and the serpent, the gods, kings and heroes come and worship him.

7. In the great collection of Turkic folklore published by Radloff we meet the designations *mangus* and *mös* mostly referring to anthropomorphic beings and often even as heroes of the stories. The dragons are called by both the Turkic names referred to above, and names derived from Iranian: *Aži Dahāka* > *Ažḍahāk* > *ažḍaha*, *äžḍäha*, etc. (cf. Radloff's dictionary I col. 916, Räsänen p. 53b) or simply serpents *yïlan*. The mothers and wives of the dragons are called *Kūkat*, translated traditionally "Swan-Lady"; Halén, however, doubts (p. 24)

the correctness of this translation, probably with good cause. In Radloff's vol. Ib p. 416 beneath seven layers of the earth there lives the heroic prince *Čïlan Mongus*: in the same story we meet a seven-headed *čelbegen*. On the basis of the alliteration the number of heads of a *yelbegen* is mostly *yeti* 'seven'. Vol. Ib p. 298 it is said of the seven-headed *yelbegen*: "With one head he played a reed, with one he sang, with one he lamented, with one he shamanized, with one he grumbled". This reminds one of *Tvaṣṭṛ's* son *Viśvarūpa* who had three heads, three mouths and six eyes: "One of his mouths was Soma-drinking, one Surā-drinking and one for other kinds of food" (ŚB 1.6.3.1-2). Vol. IIIb p. 315 ff. the dragon is called both *dzalmauż* 'devourer', *dzïlan* 'serpent', and *aidakar* (<Iran.) 'dragon', vol. IVb p. 28 again *aštaka yïlan* 'dragon serpent'. Vol. Ib p. 352 *Čïlan Khan* has such a big mouth that the upper lip touches the sky, the lower the ground, every being meeting him, heroes, animals and birds, go into his mouth. After *Čïlan Khan* has been slain, out of his belly come the wife of the hero, the birds, animals and heroes.

The slayers of the dragons are heroes, in general from a princely family, very often very young boys. The fight is mostly long and hard and ends successfully only because of the outstanding strength and skill of the hero, whose weapons are of supernatural size and weight. Very often, however, the decisive phase of the battle is carried out wrestling (cf. the exploits of Indra, his *vajra*, and his wrestling with Namuci, as well as Keresāspa and Gandarewa). In the tale vol. Ib p. 28 the hero slays the *yelbegen* by overturning a boiling kettle upon it: cf. the battle of Keresāspa and *Aži Srvara* in the Avesta. P. 371 the hero throws the demon to the sky and then smashes him against the earth, his bones make a mountain, his blood a sea (dragon-fight as creation act?). Vol. IIb p. 138 the hero Khan Tögös seeks his cattle in the nether-world. Erlik-Khan gives him an iron lance with which he succeeds in slaying the Golden Witch (*Sibeldei*). He then fights nine days against the nine *yelbegen* sons of hers, and at last hurls them up to the sky and smashes them, and regains his cattle. Later (p. 157) Khan Tögös again meets a six-headed *yelbegen*, cuts his heads off, but must then wrestle several years with the Golden Witch, the wife of the yelbegen. Having at last broken her backbone and burnt her corpse and yurt, he takes the cattle and people as booty. Vol. IVb p. 453 the *dzalmauz* is especially mentioned as robbing women.

The Koibal epic No 12 (vol. IIb p. 343) is strongly reminiscent of the Aryan myth about the liberation of the cows: a maid tells the seven-year-old hero that "beneath this rock there is a mace of copper weighing seven poods, sunk in the earth. You are destined to pull it out, to lift it up, and to smash

the rock. The rock will open and set free an innumerable number of cattle" (cf. the Vala-myth and RV 4.19.5).

In a Kirghiz tale (vol. IIIb p. 322) the dzalmauz cannot be overpowered since he devours everyone he sees. The hero, therefore, attacks him when he is asleep and cuts off one of his heads but then has to fight six days and nights before he succeeds in cutting off the remaining six heads. I a Baraba story (vol. IVb p. 49) the mother of seven hundred yelbegens tries to devour the hero who after a long battle succeeds in killing her, burns her body, and then treats her sons in the same way. Khara-Tün ("Black Night") rose from beneath the earth (vol. IIIb p. 315), devoured Khan Šentei's wife, sixty camels, forty maidens and forty youths, and sank down again. Šentei traced him and fought with him seven days and nights. At last they agreed upon an armistice. But then a white-bearded man appeared, and smashed with his iron staff the seven heads and soul of the monster. Šentei cut up the belly of the dzalmauz and set free people and cattle. Later he also saved two birds which a serpent was about to swallow: the serpent is referred to as *aidakar* (<Iran. *aždahāk*) and compared to a *dzalmauz*. In vol. IVb p. 28 we meet a similar topic in a story of the Siberian Tatars.

Vol. IIb p. 254 ff. Tarba Kindzi wrestled three years with Ai *Mangus* ("Moon-M."). When he at last got the upper hand, Ai prayed for mercy and wanted the Kudai ("Lord") to be asked. Tarba Kindzi, however, slew him immediately and took his cattle and people. After he had killed two further yelbegens (p. 273), the Nine Creators called him to them. The Little Creator asked him to wrestle with the hero of the Great Creator. After three years he at last won: "The Great Creator he made little, the Little Creator he made great." The Creators praised him and made him immortal, and said: "Do no sin, do no injustice, do not kill any man!": I would see here a clearly Zoroastrian substratum. Vol. IVb p. 182 ff. the hero slays the *mangus* and is later raised from the dead like the Avestan dragon slayer Keresāspa.

The colour of the dragon is rarely mentioned in the Turkic tales, but e.g. vol. Ib p. 369 we meet a yellow yelbegen.

In his preface to the Osman Turkic folklore collection published in the seventh volume of Radloff's Proben, I. Kunos describes the monsters occurring in the Osman tales. The highest among them is the *Dev* (< from Iranian, Pahlavi *dēv*, Avestan *daēva*; in Kirghiz *dö* 'giant') who can assume both human and animal shapes. It eats human flesh, especially young girls. The dragon *äzdärha* (< Av. *Aži Dahāka*) is a winged, fire-spouting serpent with three or seven heads which have human faces. It, too, perfers young girls as food and

is more bloodthirsty than the *Dev* but has less power. The dragon can stop the flow of water. The seven-headed dragon can be slain only by cutting off six of its heads and leaving the seventh uncut: it will then drop of itself, and the dragon dies. If it is cut off, the dragon comes to life again. He who takes the dragon's life shall also have its possessions.

The Chuvassians living on the upper Volga speak a Turkic language which, however, must have separated early from the main stock. Among the folkloric materials collected by the Finnish scholar Paasonen around the turn of the century we also meet tales about dragons, i.e. many-headed serpents. In tale No 5 three dragons of the Nether-World have five, seven and twelve heads, respectively, and want to devour all the people. In No. 35 a seven-headed dragon wants to swallow the princess; when it moves forward it scorches the earth. The strong hero, able to lift mountains, cuts off its heads and dismembers its body, and then does the same to two others with twelve and fifty heads. A fourth one, too, of which no details are given, is slain and burned by the hero. The expression for the 'dragon', *vəre-śəlen*, occurs in Paasonen's dictionary with an explanation 'a kind of meteor' (< 'fire-serpent' ?). Other dictionaries also quote Chuv. *aśtaxa* 'dragon' obviously from the above Iranian origin. In Crimean Turkic the same word occurs as *ažđaha*, see e.g. Radloff's vol. VIIa p. 89 ff.

8. Besides the dragon tales which in many details show probable influence from Iran, we meet an interesting creation story in vol. Ib p. 182, which seems to contain obvious through rather confused Iranian reminiscences: Both God (*Kudai*) and the Devil (*Erlik*) participated in the creation act. The latter wrought the frog, serpent, bear, boar, *Almïš* (a hairy evil spirit), *Šulmïs* (< Sogd. *šmnw* < Iran. *Ahriman*), and camel. God then threw Erlik's tools into the fire and from them a man and a woman were born (cf. *Ɣama* and *Ɣamï*, *Mašyē* and *Mašyanĕ*. God spoke to men: "I have created cattle for you, I have let pure water flow on the surface of the earth, to be drunk by you. I have helped you, now you shall do good to me. I am going away and I shall not come back. *Šal-Ɣime*, you are of my people, protect the drunken man, the children, foals, calves, and lambs. Take along the man who is dead by a decent death, or who is dead in battle, bring him into my land." *Kudai* as the name or epithet of the god is probably borrowed from Middle-Iranian *xwadāy* 'Lord' used as an attribute of the supreme god Ohrmazd. As Schiefner already suggested, *Šal-Ɣimä* seems to contain the Avestan name *Ɣima*, Skr. *Ɣama*. *Šal* would thus correspond to Avestan *xšaēta*, Pahlavi *šēt*, the normal epithet of *Ɣima*.

Schiefner wanted to see in it Tibetan *rgyal* (*-po*) 'king' : Turkic *čal~šal* 'grey, old, etc.' would perhaps look more probable. In the Turkic and especially in the Mongolian Lamaism Erlik is the king of death. Here, however, Erlik is the Evil One, and Yima, like Indian Yama, has to take care of the dead. In the Avesta, Vīdēvdāt 2.4 God says to Yima, "Promote this my world, increase this my world, be prepared to be the protector, watcher, and supervisor of the world", etc. *Šal-Ɣimä* is also met with in the Altai Turkic description of the future end of the world as the representative of mankind (vol. Ib p. 187= a p. 169).

A further interesting borrowing from Iranian is probably the mythical fish *Kar-balïq* which several times occurs in the folkloric materials published by Radloff and Schiefner. It corresponds to the mythical *Kara-masya* in the Avesta, *Kar-mahīk* in the Pahlavi sources, which is the king of the fish. The Turkic form seems to be met with even in Byzantine Greek sources of the twelfth century, though with a misleading interpretation.

9. The Iranian mythology as known to us through the Avesta and the Pahlavi sources reflects, besides the Zoroastrian "reformed" Ahura-Mazda religion, several other beliefs with other supreme gods such as Mithra, Vayu, and Zurvan. Wikander points out (p. 133) that while Mithra has so many features in common with Indra, the latter's main exploit, the slaying of Vṛtra, has no correspondence. He attributes this fact to the Zoroastrian ideology which could not credit any god with such a deed and therefore developed several national heroes praised in the tradition as dragon-slayers. Indra himself occurs in the Zoroastrian tradition as a minor *daēva~dēv*, i.e. demon.

In case the name Verethragna is to be interpreted as referring to the original dragon-slayer, the occurrence of this name in the fragmentary literary evidence we possess of the languages of the Sakas, Sogdians, and Chorasmians (Benveniste-Renou 81 ff., Wikander 129 ff.) might suggest that the Turks had in pre-Buddhic time come in contact with the dragon-slaying myth. In the Iranian ruins of Piandjikent Soviet excavations have revealed a large wall painting presenting a hero slaying a dragon with a club (Widengren 330). The Sogdians acted as intermediaries when Iranian religious influences reached the Turks living in present-day Mongolia. This influence is still recognizable even in the Buddhist terminology of the Uigurs and Mongols. The areas inhabited earlier by Iranian tribes in Turkestan came under Uigur domination in the eighth century and were soon completely turcisized. Before the Uigurs were converted to Buddhism they confessed Manichaeism. The Manichaean literature has been preserved in a very fragmentary state but we find dragon-slaying mentioned several times. I.a.

the cosmogonic text published by Andreas and Henning tells (p. 9 f.) how *Mazan*, an ugly, rapacious, frightful dragon, crept up from the sea and began to commit heinous sins. The god Mihr sent one of the five gods of his creation, a four-shaped (?) one, who overcame Mazan, stretched him from the east to the west and then trampled him to death: when a Turkic hero kills a dragon by breaking its backbone this is done precisely by trampling.

10. The most important dragon in the Iranian mythology is *Aži Dahāka* described in the Avesta as having had three jaws, three heads, six eyes and a thousand magic powers (Yasna 9.8, Yašt 14.40).[2] According to Yašt 9.30 he was *zairita* 'yellowish' (Skr. *harita*). He was created by the Evil Spirit in order to destroy the world of Righteousness. In Yašt 5.29 f. he sacrifices to Anāhitā hundred stallions, a thousand cows, and ten thousand sheep *bawrōiš paiti daiṅhaove*, praying that he be able to make the seven parts of the world void of men, i.e. to devour their inhabitants. Most interpreters render the above local expression by 'in the land of Babylon'. However, Nyberg (p. 292) and Barr (p. 124) translate it 'in the land of the beaver'. According to Nyberg the beaver was the holy animal of Anāhitā, and the land in question must thus be looked for somewhere on the modern Sir-Darya. In the same Yašt 5.33-55 Thraētaona, the hero born from the Āthwya family, also makes a sacrifice similar to that of Aži Dahāka asking for power to overcome the latter and to carry off the two well-beloved wives of his, Saṅhavāč and Arenavāč, who were the most excellent women in the whole world. In Yašt 15.19-26 both of these sacrifices are described in the same way but the god implored is Vayu. Thraētaona is then said (Yašt 19.37) to have slain Aži Dahāka, and this exploit brought him the *xvarenah* (*tejas*) of Yima. Thraētaona's deed is expressed by the Avestan verb *gan-* (Skr. *han-*) 'to slay, kill, destroy', which can also mean 'to win, overcome'. Perhaps just this ambiguity was later used when relating that Aži Dahāka was only fettered by Thraētaona and will be finally slain by Keresāspa. According to the Pahlavi sources Šāyast nē Šāyast 20.18 and Dēnkart 9.21.8 Ohrmazd did not permit Thraētaona to kill Aži since that would have made the earth full of serpents, toads, scorpions, lizards, tortoises, and frogs. In epics of the Siberian peoples, again, gnats and mosquitoes come out of the corpse of the slain dragon.

11. In the Avesta (Yasna 9.11) Keresāspa is said to have slain *Aži Srvara* 'the horned dragon' who "devoured horses and men, the poisonous yellowish

[2] The two-headed and the seven-headed Azdahāk are mentioned in the Pahlavi work Greater Bundahišn 22.10 (*Zand-Ākāsīh. Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, ed. and transl. by B.T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1956).

one, on whom the poison streamed one spear high." According to the Dātistān i Dēnīk 72.4 *Aži Srvara* terrorized the highways by devouring horses and men. Keresāspa was cooking food in a kettle upon the body of the sleeping dragon. The latter began to feel hot, rose, and tilted the kettle. In the legend preserved in the Pahlavi Rivāyāt accompanying the Dātistān i Dēnīk Keresāspa prays to Ohrmazd that he be granted Heaven because he had killed the horned dragon. He further stresses that according to the Revelation Aži Dahāka will escape from the confinement "and then there will not be any other remedy against him but Keresāspa". During the present millennium, namely, Dahāk will break his fetters and seize the rule over the Dēvs and men: "He will shout: 'Bring to me all those who have refused to offend Fire and Water, and the plants, so that I may devour them.' The men, Fire, Water and plants will go to Ohrmazd and ask him to rouse Frētōn (Pahlavi for Thraētaona) but the latter answers Ohrmazd and the arch-angels that he is unable to kill Dahāk. They must go to Keresāspa who will then be raised from the dead and kill Dahāk. Before that, however, Dahāk will have devoured one fourth of the cattle in Iran."

According to the Mēnōk i Khrat 8.29 the Evil Spirit had planned for Dahāk, Frāsiyāb and Alexander [the Great] to be immortal but Ohrmazd altered that plan to the advantage of mankind.

Keresāspa is also credited with having slain *Gandarewa*, a name which corresponds to Sanskrit *gandharva*, while the description of his outer appearance seems to fit in with a "dragon". According to Yašt 5.38 he had a 'golden heel' and in 19.41 he rushes forward with open jaws to destroy the material world. In the Rivāyāt Keresāspa himself relates: "I have slain Gandarewa who all at once devoured 12 provinces. When I looked in between his teeth, I saw dead men hanging between the teeth." Wikander (p. 77) compares this passage with the Bhagavadgītā 11.27. In the Kalmuck tale No 22 (Ramstedt p. 231), the colouring of which is clearly Buddhistic, the demon has on his teeth the meat of two hundred people.

12. In the Avesta there occur certain further cases in which a dragon is mentioned. So in Yasna 9.30 the golden Haoma is asked to hit with his weapon the body of the yellow, wicked, poison-spouting serpent, in defence of the Righteous who are being menaced with destruction. In Aogamadaēča 78 a dragon, strong as a bull, devouring horses and men and killing warriors, without pity, is said to be the guardian of the road along which the mortal must proceed. In Yašt 19.47-50 Fire wants to seize the *xvarenah* but is attacked by the serpent with three jaws. Fire frightens Aži away but the *xvarenah* escapes. In both of these cases it remains unclear which Aži is meant. According to Vīdēvdāt 1.2

the Reddish Serpent (*Aži Raodita*) was, together with Winter, created by the Evil Spirit in opposition to Ahura Mazda's good creation. The Bundahišn speaks of the Winged Serpent in the same function.

13. The Pahlavi Bundahišn gives (31.6) the genealogy of (*Až-i*) *Dahāk*, also called *Bēvarasp* 'possessing 10,000 horses', whose mother is said to have been *Ōtak* or *Vadak* (*vatak* also means 'evil', but in e.g. Dēnkart 7.2.64 it is used as an obvious proper name). In the Dātistān i Dēnīk 72.5 she is mentioned as the third of seven sinful beings immediately after Dahāk and Až-i Sruvar: she was the first to commit adultery by which all lineage is disturbed. In the Dēnkart 9.10.3 seven beings are described as equal to the Evil Spirit in vileness, among them Dahāk in witchcraft, Až-i Sruvar in violence[3], and Vadak in producing evil progeny. Her special sin is said to have been incest with her son. This feature might still be reflected in the Turkic tales where the witch is the wife and/or the mother of the "dragon". Wikander (p. 176) derives the name *Ōtak* from **Ava-taka* 'swift runner', and on the basis of this original meaning he also connects herewith Aog. 77 *dānuš tačintis* as 'the running Dānu', considering *dānu* to be the name of the mother of the Iranian dragons as it is that of the mother of Indian *Viśvarūpa* and *Vṛtra*.

I think there is reason enough to suggest that Aži Dahāka and Aži Srvara as well as the other dragons of the Iranian tradition and even Gandarewa in fact represent one and the same original myth. The Avestan drought demon Apaoša (< *apa-vṛta*), too, should probably be connected with it.

14. Theological speculation led in Iran to a re-interpretation of the role played by Aži Dahāka: as the above quotations show, he was connected with the Zoroastrian eschatology. On the other hand he was historicized, viz. made a tyrant king of Iran, but — naturally — of foreign origin (cf. e.g. Widengren p. 44). According to Dk. 7.4.72 he was a king of Babylon (cf. Yašt 5.29 referred to above) and there caused miracles which led people to idolatry. He is also referred to as the Arab king of Yemen, and even as the king of Jerusalem and the founder of Judaism. In Dk. 5.3.3 he is compared to Alexander, the trouble-maker. In the Bahman Yašt 3 "the leathern-belted Turks with disheveled hair" are mentioned as a plague comparable to Dahāk. However, Mēnōk i Khrat 27.34 ff. states that if the realm had not passed to Dahāk, the Evil Spirit would have given it to the *xēšm* 'wrath', and it would have been impossible to recuperate before the Resurrection, since *xēšm* is not a corporeal being. The

[3] Dēnkart 8.35.13 says that those who perform or permit un-natural intercourse are as great in sinfulness as Až-i Dahāk in oppression, Až-i Sruvar in witchcraft.

Dēnkart considers the tyranny of Dahāk better than anarchy, since the creation would not have survived a thousand years of anarchy. According to the historicizing tradition which is met with in the Shahname, too, Dahāk was a man, but the Evil Spirit made two black serpents grow out of his shoulders. These serpents were to be fed with human brains since the Evil Spirit wanted to empty the world of people.

It seems that Gaster's pattern meant to cover the evolution of the functional character of a myth must be enlarged with the possibility of the "historicization".

15. The dragon-fights are in the Avesta narrated very briefly. In later works we meet more detailed and dramatic descriptions like that of Keresāspa's exploits in the Pahlavi Rivāyāt quoted and translated by Nyberg. Here the hero himself tells Ohrmazd when asking him for forgiveness: "I killed the Horned Dragon who devoured horses and men, whose teeth were like my arms, whose ear was as large as fourteen felts, whose eye was as big as a wheel, and whose horn was as high as the trunk of a tree. For half day I ran after him, and at last I caught him by his head, hit him on the neck with my club, and killed him. Had I not killed this dragon, the whole of creation would have been destroyed...I also killed Gandarv who devoured twelve provinces at one gulp. When I looked in between his teeth I saw dead men stuck on his teeth. He caught hold of my beard, and drew me into the sea where we wrestled nine days and nine nights. At last I gained the upper hand. Fast, I grasped him by his foot, skinned him up to the head, and with his hide I bound his hands and feet. I dragged him to the shore and left him to the care of Akhrurak. Afterwards, I slaughtered and ate fifteen horses, and fell asleep. The Gandarv carried away my friend Akhrurak, my wife, my father and mother. All men came to awake me out of my sleep, I rose and ran and at every step I jumped thousand steps, and fire was gushing from my footprints. I caught and killed Gandarv. Had I not killed him, Ahriman would have become the master of your creation." This vivid description does not at all lag behind the dragon fights narrated in Turkic and Mongol epics.

Ohrmazd did not pardon Keresāspa, because the latter had killed his son, Fire. Keresāspa therefore reminded him of his further exploits, the celestial and terrestrial divinities shed tears, and so did Zarathustra. The latter also prayed to Fire to pardon the hero. The Pahlavi legend breaks off at this point leaving the reader to infer the results of Zarathustra's request. The Persian version of the legend reveals that the request was granted. However, Keresāspa was not admitted into Paradise but into the Mixed Existence.

Widengren (p. 54) regards Keresāspa as a representative of the second, military "function" of the tripartite functional pattern. Several times, in fact, the sources refer to his having killed people and hurt the fertility function of the husbandmen. Thraētaona, again, seems to be a representative of this third "function", and according to Dk. 7.1.27 he had taught the men husbandry.

16. In the same way as the various Iranian demon-fights may reflect one and the same original myth, the two main heroes have genealogies which seem to permit their having been originally one and the same person. The two names are further based on different naming principles, and a person can very well be at the same time descendant of Thrita, i.e. Thraētaona, and on the basis of his horse be called Keresāspa. According to Bd. 31.26-27 the father of Keresāspa was Thrita. Duchesne-Guillemin explains (*IF* 54,1936, p. 205, cf. Rönnow p. xxvii) *Thraētaona* as a patronymicon from **tritavan* 'thrice powerful', while *Thrita* (Skr. *Trita*) would be a short form of the same name. *Thraētaona* was of the *Āthwya* family, in Pahlavi *Ābtīn*. This seems to connect him closely with Vedic *Trita Āptya* (cf. already Lommel p. 60, who, however, seems to have somehow confounded Keresāspa with his father in Yasna 9.10). This is all the more interesting, because in Indian tradition Trita slays the three-headed dragon Viśvarūpa. On the other hand Trita seems to be only a variant name for Indra.

In the Avesta (Yašt 5.61) Thraētaona is given the epithet *verethragan* (Skr. *vṛtrahan*), as is also Astvatereta, the coming saviour who will also wield the club of Thraētaona.

In Turkic and Mongolian tales the hero is often only a little child when he slays the dragon. According to Pahlavi sources (Dk. 7.25 f.) Thraētaona-Frētōn received the *xvarenah* when still in the uterus of his mother, and was thus able to strike down Dahāk and to set free the creatures when only nine years old. The capture of the wives of Aži Dahāka in the Avesta and the setting free the waters and cows in the Rig Veda would thus be identical. In this respect Widengren (p. 46) refers to the tale of al-Biruni that Frētōn had set free the cows hidden by the usurper Dahāk.

17. In India we already meet the dragon-slaying myth in the Rig Veda. There is, however, no coherent, detailed description of it but rather numerous references to the myth, which is presumed to be generally known. In most cases Indra is credited with the exploit of having slain the dragon *Ahi* (=Avestan *Ažī*) or *Vṛtra*; this latter name occurs both as a neuter and as a masculine. The slaying of the dragon has by western scholars been explained in various ways at various times. I. a. Heinrich Lüders, Norman Brown, F.B.J. Kuiper,

Jan Gonda, Jean Varenne interpret it as a world creation myth: one could perhaps also speak of a world organization myth.

Norman Brown ("The Creation Myth in the Rig Veda", *JAOS* 62, 1942, p. 97 ff.) summarizes our knowledge of the myth as follows: In the beginning the Waters were restrained within a shell which was personified as *Vṛtra* 'the Encloser'. Besides the withheld Waters there was a Fashioner God *Tvaṣṭṛ* who had created Heaven and Earth to be his house. Of these two was born a son, Indra, who split the 'restraint' or 'covering' so that the Waters came forth. They were impregnated and gave birth to the Sun, and themselves flowed into the atmospheric ocean. By his deed Indra separated the *Sat* from the *Asat*. Cf. RV 2.12.2-3

yaḥ pṛthivīṃ vyathamānām adṛṅhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitāṅ aramṇāt|
yo antarikṣaṃ vimame varīyo yo dyām astabhnāt—sa janāsa indraḥ||
yo hatvāhim ariṇāt saptasindhūn yo gā udājat apadhā valasya|
yo aśmanor antar agniṃ jajāna saṃvṛk samatsu—...||

rendered by Brown (*JAOS* 85, 1965, p. 28)

'He who steadied the wavering earth, who stabilized the quaking mountains, who measured out the wide expanse of the atmosphere, who fixed a support for heaven—he, O folk, is Indra'.

'He who slew the serpent and set free the seven streams, who drove the cows forth from the cave (?), where Vala had hidden them, who produced the fire between the stones, the booty-winner (?) in the battles—he...'

Even when personified as *Vṛtraḥ* the adversary of Indra often enough gets epithets describing his body as serpentine, cf. e.g. RV 1.32.7 *apād ahasto apṛtanyad indram* 'without feet without hands he fought against Indra,' 8...*naḍaṃ na bhinnam amuyā śayānam* 'over him who was thus lying like a cut reed...' In RV 5.29.6 Indra is said to have hewn in pieces the ninety-nine coils of his adversary. It is also interesting to see the insatiability of the dragon stressed, e.g. RV 4.19.3:

atṛpnuvantaṃ viyatam abudhyam abudhyamānaṃ suṣupāṇam indra|
sapta prati pravata āśayānam ahiṃ vajreṇa vi riṇā aparvan||

'The insatiable serpent lying outspread, who was not to be awakened, who slept not awaking, who beleaguered the seven streams, thou Indra didst cut asunder at a jointless spot,'

and ŚB 1.6.3.11 '...he (Vṛtra) grew an arrow's range sideways and an arrow's range forwards, he forced back both the western ocean and the eastern one; and in proportion as he extended did he devour the food.'

The gods were frightened by the superiority of Vṛtra (e.g. RV 4.19.2, 8.93.14-15, 8.96.7). In his insolence (RV 1.32.6 *ayoddheva durmada* 'as a non-

fighter in drunken insolence') Vṛtra boasted he was invincible and invulnerable (RV 5.32.3-4). On the other hand, RV 1.103.7 and 4.19.3 give one to understand that Vṛtra was sleeping when attacked by Indra. According to RV 1.32.2 and 4.17.7 Vṛtra was lying on a mountain. In the mountain he had closed up the waters which Indra then liberated: RV 5.32.1c-d *mahāntam indra parvataṃ vi yad vaḥ sṛjo vi dhārā ava dānavaṃ han* 'When thou openedst the big mountain, Indra, thou releasedst the streams, thou slewst Dānava.'

18. Indra is said to have killed Vṛtra with his *vajra* '(thunder)-bolt' or 'club' which hit the enemy either upon the head (so e.g. RV 1.52.10 and 15, 8.6.6, 8.76.2, 10.152.3), or upon the back (e.g. RV 1.32.7, 1.80.5-6) or upon the vulnerable spots (*marman*) of the body (RV 3,32.4, 4.19.3, 8.100.7). In RV 6.18.10 Indra is using a *heti* 'missile' which seems to be just another name for the bolt. *Vajra*, too, might also mean 'club': in RV 1.33.4 Indra uses *ghana* 'club, hammer' when killing *Dasyu*. According to RV 1.33.3, 8.45.4 and ŚB 5.3.5.27 he used a bow and arrows. Later Brāhmaṇas (e.g. Kauṣ. 23.2, Pañcav. 11.11.12) make Indra overcome Vṛtra by word and recitation: I would see here the influence of the ritual drama, of which the dragon-slaying was an essential part. According to some sources, e.g. (TS 2.4.12 and) 6.5.1.1 Vṛtra asked Indra for mercy:" Indra raised his bolt to hurl at Vṛtra; Vṛtra was afraid of the bolt when raised to be hurled; he said, 'Hurl it not at me, there is this strength in me, that will I bestow on thee'; on him he bestowed the Ukthya. At him he raised (the bolt) to hurl a second time, he said, 'Hurl it not at me, there is this strength in me, that will I bestow on thee'; on him he bestowed again the Ukthya. At him he raised (the bolt) to hurl a third time; Viṣṇu supported him (saying), 'Smite'; he said, 'Hurl it not at me, there is this strength in me, that will I bestow on thee'; he bestowed on him again the Ukthya. Him when he had lost his magic power he slew, for the sacrifice was his magic power..." Could this be the explanation of the meaning 'having triple strength' suggested by Duchesne-Guillemin for *tritavan* underlying the Avestan name *Thraētaona*? (cf. § 16 above).

Though mortally wounded, Vṛtra resisted stubbornly, and the fight went on in the form of cosmic phenomena, thunderstorms, earthquakes, etc. (RV 1.32.13, 1.52.10, 1.80.11-14, 2.11.9, 6.17.2, 8.96.5). According to RV 2.11.10 and ŚB 11.1.5 8, TS 2.1.4.5-7, 5.4.5.3-4 Indra burned the fallen Vṛtra, while other sources like RV 1.32.5, 2.11.8, 8.6.13, 10.111.6, 10.113.8 say that he cut the corpse of Vṛtra into pieces.

19. When Indra had slain Vṛtra he set free the waters. These are very often also referred to as "cows", e.g. RV 1.61.10c *gā na vrāṇā avanīr amuñcat* 'He

set free the streams like cows held prisoners'. RV 1.103.5c-d states

sa gā avindat, so avindad aśvān, sa oṣadhīḥ so apaḥ sa vanāni //

'He gained the cows, he gained the horses, he the plants, he the waters, he the trees.' RV 3.34.9a-c says

sasānātyān̐ uta sūryaṃ sasānendraḥ sasāna purubhojasaṃ gām /
hiraṇyayam uta bhogaṃ sasāna hatvī dasyūn...

'Indra gained the steeds and gained the sun, gained the many-feeding cow, golden property he gained having slain the Dasyus...' and ibid. 10a-b

indra oṣadhīr asanod ahāni vanaspatīn̐r asanod antarikṣam /

'Indra gained the plants, the days, the trees he gained, and the atmosphere.' RV 8.3.20 again relates that when Indra pushed Vṛtra away from the 'high Waters'

nir agnayo rurucur nir u sūryo niḥ soma indriyo rasaḥ /
nir antarikṣād adhamo mahām ahiṃ kṛṣe tad indra pauṁsyam //

'The Fires came shining forward, so too the Sun and the Soma, the juice dear to Indra. Thou blewest away the big dragon from the space. This manly deed hast thou done.' In RV 2.11.5c-d, too, the waters and the heavenly lights are mentioned side by side

uto apo dyāṃ tastabhvāṁsam ahann ahiṃ śūra vīryeṇa //

'The dragon that had arrested the waters and the heaven, thou didst slay, O hero, by a heroic deed.'

TS 2.1.4.5 "Indra slew Vṛtra; him Vṛtra slain bound with sixteen coils; from the head of Vṛtra came out cows, they were (cows) of Videha; behind them came the bull. It Indra (6) perceived; he reflected, 'He who shall offer him shall be freed from this evil'; he offered to Agni one with a black neck, to Indra a bull. Agni being approached with his own share, burned into sixteen pieces the coils of Vṛtra." Ibid. 2.1.5.1 "Indra opened the hole of Vṛtra; the topmost cattle he grasped by the back and pulled out; a thousand cattle followed it, it became humpbacked." We are thus met with very close parallels to the Turkic tales in which cattle, people, etc. are set free from the body of the dragon. That the "cows" set free originally symbolized a creation act, was probably already forgotten in the Vedic times.

20. According to Brown (*JAOS* 85, p. 23) the Asuras were of two kinds, the Ādityas, led by Varuṇa, and the Dānavas led by Vṛtra. Brown derives the names of the mothers from the root *dā-* 'bind', etc.: *a-diti* 'non-restraint', and *dānu* 'restraint.' In fact, according to Mbh. 12.10137, Vṛtra was the son of *Diti* and the opposition between him and the sons of *Aditi* (*Ādityas*) is thus quite clear. Under her name *Dānu* the mother of Vṛtra — like that of Aži

Dahāka and the mothers and wives of the dragons in Turkic folklore—is said to have participated in the great battle where she was slain together with her son: RV 1.32.9

nīcāvayā abhavat vṛtraputrendro asyā ava vadhar jabhāra /
uttarā sūr adharaḥ putra āsīd dānuḥ śaye sahavatsā na dhenuḥ //
'Exhausted became the vigour of the Vṛtra-mother, Indra hurled upon her the deadly weapon, uppermost was the mother, lowermost the son. Dānu is lying down like a cow with her calf.'

21. In the Mahābhārata Indra is the leader of the gods in their fight against the Asuras. The slaying of Vṛtra is told in detail in two different passages. Of these Holtzmann regards (p. 305) as the "most purely preserved one" that in 3.8691-8731. According to this description the battle takes place in the Kṛta-Yuga, i.e. in the first of the four Yugas of the world. After the gods had seen themselves unable to conquer Vṛtra, Tvaṣṭṛ wrought for Indra the vajra out of the bones of the ascetic Dadhīca. Vṛtra covered with his body both heaven and earth, and was protected by the enormous Kālakeyas (cf. Hopkins § 18, p. 46). The battle was horrible and the gods turned to flight. Somehow strengthened—in the Viṣṇuitic tradition by Viṣṇu—Indra threw his bolt and hit the enemy's head. In the second version Mbh. 5.277-320 Vṛtra was killed through treason in time of peace. After the deed Indra in both versions goes hiding in water. In the latter version Tvaṣṭṛ is an enemy of Indra and the father of Vṛtra, a brother of Triśiras-Viśvarūpa earlier killed by Indra with his thunderbolt (cf. Hopkins p. 130). Tvaṣṭṛ begot Vṛtra expressly in order to kill Indra in revenge. In the battle Vṛtra swallowed Indra, but the gods made him yawn and so Indra escaped. On the advice of Viṣṇu the Ṛṣis got Vṛtra to make peace. Using a ruse Indra then killed him without offending the letter of the treaty. Feeling guilty, the victor, however, fled and hid in water.

22. Indra is in the Rig Veda credited with having slain several other demons, too. However, it seems to me that these can be understood as partial repetitions of the creation myth. Often enough the name of the demon in question may originally have been only a repetition name, epithet or attribute of Vṛtra. E.g. RV 1.121.11c-d Vṛtra is given the epithet 'boar': *tvaṃ vṛtram āśayānaṃ sirāsu maho vajreṇa siṣvapo varāhum* 'thou (Indra) hast with the big club killed Vṛtra, the Boar, that lay upon the streams.' Thus even such mythical adversaries of Indra which are not expressly stated to have had a serpentine form may in fact be just repeating the Vṛtra myth. Cf. e.g. the repetition names in RV 1.103.2:

sa dhārayat pṛthivīm paprathacca vajreṇa hatvā nir apaḥ sasarja |
ahann ahim abhinad rauhiṇaṃ vy ahan vyaṅsam maghavā śacībhiḥ //
'He stabilized the earth and spread it out. Having with his bolt killed (Vṛtra) he set free the waters. He killed the serpent, split Rauhiṇa, slew Vyaṃsa, with all of his strength, he, the Bounteous.'

In RV 2.12.11 the Śambara myth also seems to repeat the Vṛtra myth

yaḥ śambaram parvateṣu kṣiyantaṃ catvāriṅśyāṃ śarady anvavindat |
ojāyamānaṃ yo ahiṃ jaghāra dānuṃ śayānam...
'He who in the fortieth autumn found Śambara dwelling in the mountains, who slew the serpent as it put forth its strength, Dānu lying there, he...' (Brown l.c.).

One of the enemies slain by Indra was Śuṣṇa who in RV 7.19.2 is given the attribute *Dāsa*: an attribute obviously related to Avestan *Dahāka*. Śuṣṇa is further in RV 1.33.2 described as horned: *vi śṛṅgiṇam abhinac chuṣṇam indraḥ*, and he is thus a clear-cut counterpart to Aži Srvara. Lommel (p. 58) points out that Śuṣṇa is through his attributes clearly described as a serpent: RV 1.54.5 *śvasana*, 5.29.4 c-d *śvasant* 'hissing'. The latter passage, however, might also refer to Vṛtra:

jigartim indro apajargurāṇaḥ prati śvasantam ava dānavaṃ han //
'Indra, the *apajargurāṇa*[4], smote against the Dovourer, down smote he the hissing Dānava.'

In 1.61.10 Vṛtra is expressly mentioned as 'hissing': *śuṣantaṃ vi vṛścad vajreṇa vṛtram indraḥ*, likewise in 8.96.7 *vṛtrasya...śvasthād*.

Vyaṃsa 'shoulderless' is obviously an epithet of Vṛtra in RV 1.32.5 *ahan vṛtraṃ vṛtrataraṃ vyaṅsam indro vajreṇa mahatā vadhena*. In RV 1.101.2, 1.103.2, 2.14.5, 3.34.3 the same word occurs side by side with Vṛtra so that it has also been interpreted as an independent name of a demon. In 4.18.9 Vyaṃsa occurs alone but repeated by Dāsa: both are to be regarded only as variant names for Vṛtra.

In the Mahābhārata 9.2433 ff. the fight of Indra and Namuci is narrated in the same way as the above second version of the Vṛtra fight runs in Mbh. Holtzmann (cf. Hopkins p. 132) is of the opinion that here Namuci has replaced Vṛtra, or perhaps the whole story was originally told about Namuci, whose name then had later been changed into that of Vṛtra. I think that Namuci, perhaps as a synonymous name, has replaced Vṛtra. In the Rig Veda we meet

[4] *apajargurāṇaḥ*; Apte I 139b follows Sāyaṇa 'accustomed to take off or remove covering', Geldner 'sparring', Whitney quotes this form under *gur-* 'to greet', Grassmann under *gir-* 'to swallow.'

only short references to Namuci, e.g. 1.53.7, 2.11.20, 2.14.5, 5.30.7-8, 7.19.5, 8.14.13, 10.73.7.

Among the demons which Indra is said to have slain Triśiras-Viśvarūpa is of special interest, since his outer features seem to correspond closely to those of Aži Dahāka. RV 10.8.9

bhūrīd indra udinakṣantam ojo 'vābhinat satpatir manyamānam /
tvāṣṭrasya cid viśvarūpasya gonām ācakrāṇas trīṇi śīrṣā parā vark //

'Indra beheaded him who strived after great power, the true Lord that one who took himself for Lord. Having brought about the cows of Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭṛ, he smote off the three heads of his.'

Viśvarūpa, too, is called Dāsa in RV 10.99.6a-b

sa id dāsam tuvīravam patir dan ṣaḷakṣaṃ triśīrṣāṇaṃ damanayat /

'This Lord of the house subdued the mightily roaring six-eyed three-headed Dāsa.'

ŚB 1.6.3 the myth is told with more details. Tvaṣṭṛ created Vṛtra to take revenge for Viśvarūpa, his elder son, whom Indra had killed. In RV there seems to be no mention about Tvaṣṭṛ being an enemy of Indra (cf. however, 6.44.22 in Geldner's translation). On the contrary, he forged the *vajra* for Indra (1.32.2, 5.31.4, 6.17.10, 10.48.3). I would assume that this whole Viśvarūpa tale is a later adaptation of the Vṛtra myth. Even in ŚB 1.6.3.17 the creation (as well as the insatiability of Vṛtra) is referred to: "He (Indra)...cut him (Vṛtra) in twain, and from that (part) of his which was of the Soma nature, he made the moon, and that which was demoniacal (*asurya*) he made enter these creatures as their belly...Whosoever knows that Vṛtra is a consumer of food, becomes himself a consumer of food."

Güntert (p. 23) points out that in Iran the Zoroastrian Evil One, Angra Mainyu, shares many features with the Vedic dragon. His outer form is e.g. once that of a lizard, he has created Aži Dahāka, his abode is the darkness *var-* 'coverage' (Aog. 28), and according to Yašt 13.77 f. he even had wanted to hold up the waters. In the latter passage the Good Spirit and the Fire overcame him. In the Rig Veda Agni is one of Indra's companions in the Vṛtra battle (6.60 and 7.93.1 *indrāgnī vṛtrahaṇā*). The Avestan *Apaoša* < **apa-vrta* is, of course, related to Vedic expressions like 4.16.7 *apo vṛtraṃ vavrivāṃsam parāhan* 'the hard enclosing encloser of the waters was slain by him.'

23. On the other hand the persons named which in some Rig Vedic hymns are credited with having slain Vṛtra or similar demons might just impersonate epithets and attributes originally belonging to Indra. E.g. in 8.7 the Maruts are praised for having composed the great waters, "both armies"

(Heaven and Earth according to Geldner), the sun, and the club of Indra. They had also (v. 23) "gone through (=*viyayur*) Vṛtra as well as the rulerless mountains when accompanying the manly deed of the Bull." (v. 24) "They favoured the valour and the power of the fighting Trita, of Indra in overcoming Vṛtra." In the hymn 1.187.1, dedicated to food and drink, it is stated

pituṃ nu stoṣam maho dharmāṇaṃ taviṣīm |
yasya trito vyojasā vṛtraṃ viparvam ardayat ||
'I will now praise the food, the great supporter of the strength, in virtue of which Trita dismembered Vṛtra limb by limb.'

Trita must here obviously be synonymous with Indra. Also in 7.24 quoted above, Indra seems to repeat Trita. In 10.120.6 again Indra is praised 'as the artificer with many assumed forms, as the mightiest Āptya of the Āptyas' (cf. above § 16). In RV 5.54.2 *vāṣati tritaḥ* 'Trita thunders' also seems to point to Indra (cf. Rönnow p. 39 f.). RV 10.8.8c-d says

triśīrṣāṇaṃ saptaraśmiṃ jaghanvān tvāṣṭrasya cin niḥ sasṛje trito gāḥ ||
'Having slain the three-headed (dragon) with the seven reins (or tongues ?), Trita set free the Tvaṣṭṛ-son's cows.'

while according to stanza 9 quoted above it is expressly Indra who takes possession of the cows of Viśvarūpa.

In the Rig Veda we also meet a name *Traitana* that must be derived from *Trita-*. The hymn in question (1.158) is problematic, and the relevant lines (v. 5c-d) have been rendered in quite various ways:

na mā garan nadyo mātṛtamā dāsā yad īṃ susamubdham avādhuḥ |
śiro yad asya traitano vitakṣat svayaṃ dāsa uro aṁsāv api gdha ||

Br. D. 4.22: 'One among them (=the attendants of Dīrghatamas) Traitana by name tried to strike him (=Dīrghatamas cast into the waters) away with his sword, and (in so doing) cut to pieces (*nyakṛtata*) his own head, shoulders and breast.'

Geldner: 'The most motherly streams may not devour me, when the servants have immersed him tightly fettered. When Traitana splits his head, the servant shall (?) cut to pieces his own breast and shoulders.'

Roth (p. 230): 'May not the most motherly waves swallow me, in which the wicked have brought me well fettered: as soon as Traitana has cut his head, the Dāsa devours in himself the breast and shoulders.'

Güntert (p. 29): 'The Demon wounded his own breast and shoulders when Traitana wanted to cut his (=the Demon's) head off.'

Would it be possible to connect this hymn with the liberation of the waters in

the Vṛtra myth ? Cf. v. 6 *dīrghatamā...apām arthaṃ yatīnām brahmā bhavati sārathiḥ.*

In RV 5.30.9-10 Indra is praised for having conquered both the wives and the cows of Dāsa-Dasyu or Vṛtra-Namuci mentioned in the foregoing stanzas; v. 9

striyo hi dāsa āyudhāni cakre kim mā karann abalā asya senāḥ |
antar hi akhyad ubhe asya dhene athopa praid yudhaye dasyum indraḥ ||
'Dāsa namely had made wives for his weapons. 'What can his weak armies do to me ?' He had namely recognized both the cows of his. After that Indra proceeded to combat Dasyu.'

v. 10a

sam atra gāvo 'bhito 'navanteheha
'The cows bellowed together from all directions.'

Widengren (p. 46) wants to connect Dāsa here with the Iranian Dahāka.

That the Vala myth in the Rig Veda is a doubling of the Vṛtra myth is a generally accepted view (cf. Gonda p. 57); in later texts both demons are described as brethren.

The Sanskrit counterpart of the Avestan name *Keresāspa* is *Kṛśāśva*. The latter person is scarcely mentioned in Indian sources. Molé ("Deux notes" p. 141 f.) quotes VP 1.26.136, Mbh. 2.328, 4.1769, 13.1675 in addition to Rām. 1.19.9 ff. and Uttarar. 1.14, 5.15, 6.15, 7.9. In the Rāmāyaṇa Viśvāmitra gives to Rāma the arms of Kṛśāśva, which the latter had once committed to the care of Kauśika. Kauśika is an epithet of Viśvāmitra but even one of Indra (Bhāg.P. 10.38.17, Naiṣadhac. 5.64). The question is, whose arms would be good enough for Rāma, if not Indra's, the king of the gods ? Molé compares the initiation of Rāma to that of Rustam in Iranian tradition: the latter receives the arms of Keresāspa. On the other hand, the traditional translation of these names 'one with a slender horse' looks difficult to accept unless 'horse' would have some special, symbolical meaning. Perhaps we must interpret the names along the lines proposed by Wikander (p. 133 ff., from *keresa* 'wild, strong, fierce') and Abaev (p. 572, connected with Oss. *karz* 'strong').

24. The common epithet of Indra referring to his victory over Vṛtra is *vṛtrahan* 'Vṛtra-slayer', corresponding to Avestan *verethra-gan-* 'victorious'. From Iranian the name has been borrowed into Armenian as *Vahagn*, and the tradition tells about this god's fight against a dragon. According to Geiger and Lommel this fact together with the Avestan tale about Thraētaona (Yasna 9.7 f. and Yašt 5.16 and 14.40) permit us to credit the original dragon fight in Iranian mythology, too, Verethragan. The latter would, of course, be identical with

his Indian counterpart, viz. Indra.

After a detailed study the French scholars Benveniste and Renou arrived at the conclusion (p. 177 ff.) that both in Sanskrit and Avestan *vṛtra* originally occurs only as a neuter meaning 'resistance, obstruction, hostility'. Verethragna in Iran was thus the god of the offensive power and the same was originally the meaning of Vedic Vṛtrahan. After Indra, originally only an epic hero, had been identified with that god, the latter's name became an epithet of Indra. Since Indra's foremost exploit was the slaying of the dragon, the epithet was interpreted correspondingly and Vṛtra abstracted as the name of the dragon. The liberation of the waters had originally been carried out by a god, and it was thus quite independent of the dragon battle. By uniting these deeds the god and the hero became united into one person. In the Avesta Thraētaona's fight against Aži Dahāka and that of Tištrya against Apavṛta, the demon of the drought, remained separated.

In spite of the great authority of these eminent scholars the facts, in my opinion, might be interpreted in another way. Indra's fight belongs originally to the cosmogony, and his adversary may also have been regarded as a neuter 'obstruction, inertia', and later personified as a masculine and described as Ahi and Triśiras, epithets which fully agree with those of Aži Dahāka. If there is some natural phenomenon behind this concept, it might be the Milky Way.

In India various epithets and attributes of the slain demon as well as those of the victorious god were abstracted and personified as separate demons slain by separate heroes. In Iran the religious development, especially the Zoroastrian reformation, made Indra a representative of Evil and he could consequently not figure as the hero of the dragon battle. Tribal heroes were therefore created and credited with the same exploit, the real content of which, viz. the creation, had been forgotten and superseded by a new cosmogony.

25. In a paper entitled "Vahagn" Dumézil points out (p. 152 ff.) that in the Armenian tradition about the god of victory there occurs a detail which has a close counterpart in Indian epic tradition. The relevant Armenian passage preserved by the historian Moses of Chorene, runs as follows (transl. from Dumézil's French translation), "The heaven and earth were in travail, in travail the purpureal sea, too. The travail in the sea produced a red rush. Through the vagina of the rush rose a flame, and a tiny adolescent ran out of the flame. He had hairs of fire, moustache of flame and his little eyes were suns." Indian, tradition, again, tells that after having killed Viśvarūpa and Vṛtra Indra was scared and fled. There seems to be in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa an older story: 7.4.1.13 "When Indra had smitten Vṛtra, he, thinking that he had not laid him

low, entered the waters. He said to them, 'I am afraid: make ye a stronghold for me.' Now what essence of the waters there was that they gathered upwards (on the surface), and made it a stronghold for him." Perhaps 1.6.4.1 is a still more original version: "When Indra had hurled the thunderbolt at Vṛtra, thinking himself to be the weaker, and fearing lest he had not brought him down, he concealed himself and went to the farthest distances. Now the gods knew that Vṛtra had been slain and that Indra had concealed himself... (4) Indra said, 'When I had hurled the thunderbolt at Vṛtra I was terrified and (in consequence of this fright) I am much emaciated." The gods restored Indra with Soma mixed with boiled milk. Cf. 4.1.3.1 and TS 2.5.3.2f. The story is obviously built on the detail preserved in RV 1.32.14 where a frightened Indra flees over ninety nine streams. Theological speculation made Vṛtra a Brāhmaṇa: to kill him was thus a sin, and this made Indra go hiding. Mbh. 5.14 says that the Divination was, together with Indra's queen, sent to find Indra: "...having crossed the Himavat mountains, she came to its northern side. And having reached the sea, extending over many yojanas, she came upon a large island covered with various trees and plants. And there she saw a beautiful lake, of heavenly appearance, covered with birds, eight hundred miles in length, and as many in breadth. ...in the middle of that lake there was a large and beautiful assemblage of lotuses having in its midst a large white lotus standing on a lofty stalk. And penetrating into the lotus stalk, along with Sachi, she saw Indra there who had entered into its fibres...in a minute form..." Then the gods sent Agni to search for Indra, and (Mbh. 5.16) "while searching the lotus flowers, he saw the king of the gods lying within the fibres of a lotus stalk." Agni informed the gods who "went and glorified the slayer of Vala by referring to his former deeds...And thus glorified, Indra increased little by little and having assumed his own form, he waxed strong..." Agni who here detects the hiding Indra, may be compared with the fire mentioned in the Armenian legend in connection with Vahagn emerging from his hiding place. Dumézil points out (p. 163) that the similarities of both traditions can hardly be mere coincidences. Furthermore, the story can have come to the Armenians only from Iran, and we thus gain an additional piece of evidence to support the presumable Aryan origin of the Vṛtra myth as an essential part of Aryan cosmogony (cf. also Wikander p. 131).

In my opinion it would be possible to compare with the above Aryan episode the Timirgändik tale in Radloff's vol. IVb p. 403: The dragon slayer hero had lost his feet and let an old witch-woman swallow himself in order to be healed. He did not, however, come out and then his friends killed the

woman and dismembered her body limb by limb but did not find him. At last they slit up every bone of hers and detected the hero in the marrow of her little finger.

26. In a very important study published regrettably only in Danish and thus inaccessible to many scholars, Leo Buschardt shows that the central topic of the Vedic cult was the combat of Indra against Vṛtra. This theme is no mere poetic performance nor any naive description of natural phenomena. It shows the evil power, trying to deprive the mankind of fortune and blessing, fought and conquered by the good power. The battle is repeated on the cult place; it is the gist of the whole ritual. Even the animal sacrifice with the sacrificial meal as well as the Soma ritual symbolize the slaying of Vṛtra (o.c. p. 8). The cult is in itself the great act of creation from which everything originates (p. 12). Therefore also the consequences of the ritual act reach infinitely far outside of the place of the cult. According to the ritual texts the demons once had conquered the world. It was dominated by Vṛtra until he was slain by Indra. This also describes the situation which would arise if the ritual were not carried out (p. 24). Even the demon himself must be incorporated in the ritual in order to combat and beat him (p. 39).

Buschardt must, however, be criticized for regarding throughout his work the ritual as primary and the myth only as an explanation of the ritual drama (p. 51 f.). The other demons combatted and beaten by Indra Buschardt (p. 22) considers originally belonged to independent cultic dramas of various Aryan tribes. Since e.g. no ritual drama corresponding to the Viśvarūpa myth is known to us, Buschardt explains (p. 37) that the special ritual in question had early enough been absorbed by the common Aryan cult and only the myth had been preserved.

As e.g. Lommel states (p. 50 and 56 f.), the myth is a conception of the order of things in the Universe, an explanation of the cosmic process. The cultic drama only repeats the original myth to keep up the established order. Likewise I am unable to accept Buschardt's view (p. 60) that the gods exist exclusively in the cult, and only represent its various aspects. The existence of the gods is in my opinion coexistent with that of the Universe, and the cult is the means to contact them and to confirm and perpetuate the cosmic order.

27. Descriptions of the ritual drama, too, seem to refer to the Vṛtra myth as to a creation act, as suggested by Brown. Cf. e.g. TS 2.5.2.2 "...he enveloped these worlds. Because he enveloped these worlds, therefore Vṛtra is Vṛtra..." (5) "Sky and earth said, 'Hurl it not, he rests in us two.' They said, 'Let us choose a boon.' 'May I be adorned with the Nakṣatras,' said yonder (sky);

'May I be adorned with variegated things,' said this (earth). Therefore yonder (sky) is adorned with the Nakṣatras, this (earth) with variegated things." Ibid. 2.5.3.2 "When Indra had slain Vṛtra, his power and strength went into the earth, then the plants and roots were born." ŚB 5.2.3.8 "And on the following day he prepares a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni, and offers it in the same way as an ordinary *iṣṭi*. Now when Indra slew Vṛtra, that vigour and energy of his went out of him, being frightened: by this offering he again possessed himself of that vigour and energy." ŚB 4.3.3.5 "Indra hurled the thunderbolt at Vṛtra, and having smitten Vṛtra, the wicked, and safety and peace being secured, he led forth the *dakṣiṇās*...And so, forsooth, does he now by means of those five cups of Soma hurl the thunderbolt at the wicked, hateful enemy, and having smitten Vṛtra, the wicked, and safety and peace being secured, he leads forth the *dakṣiṇās*."

28. If we try to apply Gaster's pattern of the development of a myth to our case, our evidence obviously covers the whole field from myth to tale.

There has been an Aryan world creation myth describing the breaking of the "inertia" (*vṛtram*, personified as a malevolent serpent *Ahi~Aži*) by an active god, Indra, a representative of the "second function", who by his deed set free the life-giving powers, the waters and the heavenly lights, also symbolized by "women" and "cows". This original redaction is preserved in the Rig-Vedic hymns to Indra, the Vṛtrahan.

In the Vedic ritual this myth was performed as a drama so that every act on the place of cult imitated, at least symbolically, a detail of the myth. The purpose of the ritual was to consolidate and perpetuate the cosmic order created once by the heroic achievement of the Vṛtrahan.

The dramatic points of the myth made it a very popular theme in the use of the religious poets. New redactions of it developed as more or less independent myths, in which variant names of the "cover" as well as of its "breaker" were used.

In Iran the Zoroastrian reformation of the common Aryan religion changed radically the position of the herited gods. Like the other *daēvas*, Indra was permanently removed into the sphere of the adversaries of the Good. The dragon battle story was preserved but new heroes were credited with the deed. They, too, seem to be closely related to the variants of Indra in the Veda. Thraētaona is at the same time a representative of the third, Keresāspa one of the second "function". Before this renovation, however, had been carried out, the original mythical Vṛtrahan-Verethragna had been borrowed from Iran by the Armenians. The similarity of the Indian myth about the flight and hiding of

Indra with the Armenian poem about Vahagn suggests that this detail, too, had once been a part of the Iranian myth.

The dualistic view of Zoroastrianism deprived the dragon-slaying of its final character. While originally a creation act it was now even connected with the eschatology. The setting free of the waters was reshaped into a combat repeated again and again against the drought demon. A dramatic performance of the dragon combat was also continued, though it was no longer a part of the cult proper.

As far as the Avestan dragon combat passages were recited in the worship they can probably be regarded as representing the third stage of Gaster's model, as may those Vedic hymns in which Vṛtra and/or Indra has been replaced by a variant personality.

Especially in Iran these variants of the myth took on an epic character, and probably on the basis of the special Iranian king-ideology, both the epic heroes and their adversary were given a place in the history of Iran.

The Iranian cultural influence, attested both by archaeological evidence—e.g. by the propagation of Sassanian silver vessels—and by loan words, spread very early among neighbouring peoples known to us as Turks and Mongols. Such evidence as the Aži Dahāka borrowed by the Turks as well as several details of their contents seem to prove that the Iranian dragon myths were the starting point of Turkic and then also of Mongolian dragon lore.

Certain important features of the original myth, such as the setting free of the cows and the taking possession of the women of the slain adversary, were faithfully preserved, since they closely corresponded to the way of life of these nomadic peoples.

Epics and tales narrating the slaying of a dragon by a mythical hero are known from the traditions of other Indo-European peoples, too. This seems to make it probable that the myth itself, the oldest stage of which is recorded in the Rig Veda, was originally a part of the common Indo-European heritage (cf. e.g. Toporov).

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DAMDINSUREN, ULANBATOR (MONGOLIA)

HARE JĀTAKA

The major part of the jātakas and legends about Buddha and Bodhisattvas included in the Buddhist Canon, Kanjur and Tanjur have originated from the rich Indian folklore, epos, fairy-tales, and myths. However, making ordinary legends into biographies and jātakas no doubt contemplated certain alterations and treatments. Almost every work of literature usually has both positive and negative characters. While altering, attempt is made to replace positive characters by Buddha and Bodhisattvas and negative ones by evil ghosts or harmful enemies. Here comes an example of the altered folk legend about a moon hare from a Bodhisattva jātaka. Out of the 52 names given to the moon enlisted in the well-known Tibetan Dictionary of Allegorical Expressions *Mkhas-paḥi-rna-rgyan* 'Ear-Adornment of Sages' we come across a name *ri-boṅ-can* 'with hare' which is explained as follows: "Delighted that the hare had sacrificed its own body, Hurmusta 'Indra' brought it to Heaven for display to the inhabitants of Heaven and then imprinted his image on the moon for people to see it".

Rinchin Nomtoev, a Buriat scientist writes in his outstanding Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionary (Vol. II p. 910): "in ancient times when our Lord studied the deeds of Bodhisattva he sacrificed his body in the image of a hare. It is said that its skin had been hung on the moon in front of the palace gates for all laymen to see it. That's why the moon is named 'with hare'."

These explanations draw us to the conclusion that the moon was named "with hare" (Sanskrit *śaśin*) after the jātaka about the Bodhisattva who had sacrificed his own body appeared. Unlike Buddhist jātakas, however, the name of the moon has come down from the most ancient legends. The first one is about a moon hare spread out in ancient times not only throughout Asia but in distant America. Obviously, there was another legend about a generous and good-natured hare. As enrichment of these above-mentioned two legends, apparently, a third Buddhist jātaka appeared which deals with a generous earth hare who moved to the moon.

To prove this version we shall go through some fairy-tales and legends of peoples over the world.

A very famous legend in the Eastern aimaks of Mongolia says: There lives a lonely hare on the moon and on the earth doe-hares only. Looking at the moon-hare they become pregnant. In Mongolian Gobi aimak people tell

stories about a moon-hare too. There is a legend in the Bulgan aimak about a boy who carried water pails on the moon. Once the moon captured a boy who carried water pails at night. Ever since his image emerged reflected on the moon. That is the reason why people do not appreciate children go for water in the moonlight at night. But if they do go they are warned: "Hurry up! The dog is alarming."

Jukey, an old man who had come from Horchin, Inner Mongolia after the World War II says: "My countrymen tell that there is a tree on the moon. And under the tree a hare is extracting drugs".

Chinese also have a legend about a moon-hare. Here is a short story taken from the tale "shooting the moon" told by Yao tribesmen from "Selection of Chinese Folk Tales", released in Peking in 1958.

Once upon a time there was no sun, no moon and no stars in the sky, but only darkness. One day a bright moon rose up. The moon was not quadrangular, nor round but many-sided. It was emitting tremendously heating rays, burning harvests and it became impossible for people to live below. People slept only after sunset, sweating and yelling they turned to the sky with request: "Oh, Heaven! We no longer need such a burning moon. We shall die soon from thirst". In those times there lived a young couple at the foot of the high mountain. The husband called Yalla was an excellent marksman. And he used to hunt in the mountains. His wife wove precious cloth at home. One day Ni E said to her husband: "The moon brings a lot of misfortunes to people, so why not save people and animals from disaster, striking it with an arrow and knocking it down." Yalla took his arrow and bow and climbed the southern mountain. There he shot many times, with all his might, but they would not reach it. He shot even thousand times and never could he hit the mark. Now he had no more arrows. The ardent moon above was burning almost all people and animals. Yalla took a deep breath and, all of a sudden, the northern mountain broke apart, and out of the gap came up a long-white-bearded old man and said: "There is a tiger on the south and a deer on the north mountains. If you manage to kill them and eat their meat, you will become strong. When you make a bow of tiger tail and a bow-string of its tendon and an arrow of deer horn everything will come all right. With these words the old man disappeared in the hole of the rock. On returning home Yalla told the whole story to his wife. Ni E said: "So go hunting for a tiger and a deer. Are not you a good hunter?" "Once I tried to shoot a tiger and deer. But their skins are so hard that an arrow won't pierce through," replied Yalla. "I can only

catch them with a huge net". So his wife loosened her plait and had her hair cut. Within 30 days they knit a big net. Then Yalla set off to the southern mountain and caught a tiger and a deer on the northern. He ate their meat and became strong. After that he made a new bow and arrow. He climbed the northern mountain and shot the arrow at the moon. It smashed the sides of the moon into smithereens and they turned into stars in the sky, and the moon itself became round-shaped. But its rays continued burning mercilessly as before. Yalla returned home disappointed and said to his wife: "The moon won't stop burning. Let's cover it up with something." At this moment his wife was just knitting a blanket with their family picture on it. On the picture there were high trees in front of the nice house, a herd of sheep and a hare nearby, under the tree stood Ni E herself. She had not yet put Yalla's picture. As her husband was demanding it to cover the moon up she obeyed saying: "Do, as you like. You can take the blanket". Yalla hurried to the northern mountain immediately and shot the arrow with the blanket on it. It hit the mark. The moon was covered up and the heat eliminated. Ever since it remained there unchanged. People got happy and joyful. And then Yalla looked at the moon and he could see clearly the whole picture—the trees, sheep, a hare and Ni E. The moon Ni E was calling the earth Ni E and the latter flying slowly through the air, merged with the first one. Finding himself at a loss he exclaimed: "Why did Ni E forget to put my picture? What shall I do?" Ni E was worrying on the moon too. She had plaited her hair and when the moon was just passing beneath the peak of the mountain, she hung it down. Having caught the lower tip of Ni E's plait Yalla went up to the moon and joined luckily his wife. They still live there: Ni E knitting and Yalla pasturing the sheep and a hare.

This tale was written down from the story Sho Gan-Yu told and then translated from the above-mentioned book by Huhe for my use.

It differs from those we have spoken about. Nevertheless, they have a hare on the moon in common.

There is a popular legend spread all over China about a girl called Chan E who ascended the moon together with a hare and both live there since. Once I happened to read a Japanese tale about a moon-hare translated into Russian, but I failed to find it again.

R. Kinjalov, a Soviet historian and A. Belov, a Soviet writer have studied primitive-age mythology of Mexican Aztecs.[1] Aztecs have created plenty of interesting myths. Their roots go to a remote past when primitive man through his imagination tried to grasp the natural phenomena of his environment. Take

for instance what Aztecs thought about the origin of the sun and the moon.

Towards the end of the Fourth Age, that is, after Flood all Gods gathered in Teotiuakan to settle the problem how to give light to the people. It was concluded that one of them should have himself sacrificed.

Two Gods, a well-to-do Tekukistekatl and a poor Ranauantsin made up their minds to sacrifice themselves to bring light to the people. They kept a fast for four days long, getting ready for offering. A huge fire was constructed for the two to jump into.

The rich Tekukistekatl came up to the fire three times but lacked the courage to jump. So Ranauantsin rushed bravely to the flames and appeared immediately in the image of a twinkling sun. At its sight, dishonoured Tekukistekatl also fell into the fire but, as it had become weaker, he changed into the moon.

Getting angry with the coward Tekukistekatl, the Gods threw him a hare. Since that time he came to live on the moon. The Aztecs used to see a hare in the moon-spot. One Aztec manuscript carries its picture.

It is supposed that American Indians had moved from North East Asia through Alaska thousands of years ago. It seems probable that leaving Asia for America they had brought an Asian legend about a moon hare. It is still more likely that in ancient times Indian legends about a moon-hare and a generous earth-hare spread out. We can find legends alike in the pre-Buddhist period.

Legends about a moon-hare penetrated all over India and, consequently the moon was called "with hare". Afterwards this name was translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan and became one of the allegoric names of the moon. In this way the legend seems to have become a Buddhist jātaka of a hare-Bodhisattva.

Chapter 6 of the "34 Buddhist Jātakas" by Ārya Śūra included in the volume 179 of the Mongolian Tanjur is considered a jātaka about a hare. Its context is as follows:[2]

Once upon a time there lived a Bodhisattva in the image of a hare in the woods. Its neighbour friends were an otter, jackal and monkey. They led their lives in the most friendly way.

So one day they all came to His Holiness' place to hear his sermon about the holy ordinance and sat down around him respectfully. Glancing at the

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[1] R. Kinjalov & A. Belov, *Collapse of Tenschtitlak*, Leningrad, 1956, p. 158.

[2] Translation of the jātaka is from Ārya Śūra, *Girlyanda Jatak*, Moscow, 1962, p. 617.

moon the Bodhisattva turned to his friends: "The moon is smiling with its full face as though it was informing those generous about the poṣadha holiday. It means tomorrow is the 15th-moon-day. Therefore you must obey properly the rules relating to poṣadha holiday, that is, to honour the guest with sweetest food and after that you can satisfy your own needs". "Let it be so !" exclaimed his friends and each of them went away to his lodging. As soon as they disappeared the hare was lost in his thoughts: "In case a guest visits us everybody but me has a good chance to honour him, whatsoever, my state of affairs is rather bad. I can't offer him my food-grass which is so bitter for him. Immersed deep in his thoughts, suddenly, a brilliant idea struck him: "The possession that will enable me to honour my guest is so easy to get, it is in my power: I have my own body!" As if appreciating his decision the earth shook, moreover, mountains quaked and untrembled was its garment—the giant ocean, tremendous kettle-drums were heard in the air, and the horizon dazzled with bright shining colour.

When Śakra, the Lord of Gods, learnt about the hare his heart was filled with surprise and curiosity. Anxious to test his real intentions, Śakra changed into a Brahmin priest pretending as if he had lost his way, exhausted by hunger and thirst, and crying he began to call for help. So the otter hurried willingly and brought some fish. The jackal also got some food he could afford. The monkey ran up bringing mango fruit. Soon the hare came up and invited the Brahmin to his place offering his own body as food. To this Śakra said: "How can a man like me kill a living creature". The hare replied: "Indeed, what you have said is very much like a man determined to face suffering. Whatever it be, be here until I get something to please you". Śakra guessed his intention and with his divine strength created a huge pile of smokeless coal. Feeling happy His Holiness let himself fall into the fire. When Śakra saw the happening he was shocked and surprised and converted himself into his real nature, honoured the hare with words pleasant to feel and hear. Then he lifted him up to show him to the Gods. Later, he decorated the moon face with the hare picture to perpetuate such a fearless deed. Ever since, the moon is known as *Śaśāṅka* (i.e. 'with hare mark').

This jātaka reminds us of the legends spread out in Asia, particularly the legend of American Aztecs. It also proves the fact that there was a similar legend in ancient India.

Vol. 180 of the Mongolian Tanjur contains "35 Buddhist Jātakas" written by Sengeshabrin (Haribhaṭṭa) in the way Ārya Śūra did in his "34 Buddhist Jātakas".

A hare jātaka is included in chapter 4 of this book (p. 22). Somehow, it is a little bit different from that which Ārya Śūra wrote. Here it is a little shortened: Once there lived happily a hare-Bodhisattva and a hermit. One day a draught came bringing misfortune. They were unable to gather berries and fruits. The hermit had to wander in search of food. Having learnt it, the hare tried to persuade him: "Wait a bit and be patient. I shall get you something to eat today".

He was searching all the night but failed to get anything. He did not even eat grass nor drink water aware of the hunger the hermit was suffering. The hare found nothing and came back empty-handed on the next day, and said: "My Hermit Great! Be a bit patient. I'll place in front of you what I have brought". He ran out and was about to jump into the burning fire when, all of a sudden, the rain poured blossoming flowers, berries and fruits. When the hermit came out to extinguish the fire he could see blossomed flowers and berries and a hare standing right in the middle of lotuses. Thence they came to live happily feeding on berries.[3]

In this instance the hare did not die in the fire neither was he transported to the moon. By this fact we come to know that, besides, the legends about the moon-hare, at the same time, there were legends about the generous earth-hare. Chinese Tripiṭaka also has a jātaka about a hare. In this variant the hare did not die in the fire though he had been in it, neither did he move to the moon. In this respect it is more like the "35 jātakas" by Sengeshabrin (Haribhaṭṭa), however, there is still a slight difference. Here I present this jātaka about a hare from vol. 6 of the Chinese Tripiṭaka to have a clear picture and to see the difference.[4]

There lived a 120-year old Brahmin priest vigilating the outer world and feeding with berries on the mountain. Suddenly he noticed the berries disappear. On the same mountain lived a fox, an otter, a monkey and a hare, who respectfully abided by his preaching. They said: "The berries on the mountain are vanishing. If the Brahmin goes away somewhere we shall lose a chance to listen to his preaching. So we have to provide him with food and he won't leave us. They agreed upon it. The monkey brought some berries, the fox a sack of grains, the otter a big fish. The hare had nothing to offer; so he thought: "I shall sacrifice myself. Though I am small, it will be sufficient

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[3] Eighth jātaka from *Pagsam thishiṅ* after Suba. Indra is considered a short story of the mentioned jātaka (Mongolian Tanjur, vol. 181, p. 51). This is also included in the Mongolian Tanjur, Vinaya, vol. 3, p. 53.

[4] From E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois et traduit en Français*, Paris, 1911, vol. I, p. 75.

for one day," and jumped into the fire. Fortunately, by his virtues he remained alive. The Brahmin felt sorry for him and decided to stay.

In general this jātaka about a hare from the Chinese Tripiṭaka is almost similar to those in the Mongolian Tanjur, however, they do not wholly coincide so far. For instance, the hare from the "34 jātakas" by Ārya Śūra in the Mongolian Tanjur dies in the fire and is transported to the moon, unlike the hare from the Chinese Tripiṭaka and Sengeshabrin's (Haribhaṭṭa's) jātakas, don't die nor do they move to the moon. Sengeshabrin's hare alone helps the hermit, whereas the hare from the Chinese Tripiṭaka helps the hermit together with his three friends. So far they are not the same as far as the details are concerned. These differences between the Mongolian and Chinese Tripiṭakas are certainly brought about not by the fault of the translators. Naturally, the faithful religious translators were not willing to make arbitrary alterations in Buddhist works. Consequently, these differences prove the fact that Sanskrit originals themselves had variants of jātakas about a hare. As a rule, they stick to the Sanskrit originals precisely.

Judging by this, we may suppose that different interpretations of the legends about a hare used by different authors in inventing Buddhist jātakas facilitated different treatments.

The existence of such legends in the pre-Buddhist period is another proof that Śākyamuni used to speak about them as his past and not as his present life.

Apparently, in India other legends relating to the moon and the hare existed. In the Mongolian Tanjur vol. 181, p. 453 a phrase is found which says that the hare was daydreaming about the moon. The hare's affection towards his beloved is described: "the heart (is longing for her) like ducks for a transparent lake, a hare for the precious moon, like Amur arrow for maids, and bees for a blossomed lotus". Thus another legend is found in India about the affection of the hare towards the moon.

In conclusion, we may well suppose that the legends about a generous hare reflected on the moon, spread out all over Asia and America do not originally come down from Buddhist jātakas, but on the contrary, different jātakas about a hare have originated from different interpretations of legends which became well-known throughout Asia.

Delhi, 25 Dec. 1975

MILENA HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, PRAGUE

ROMS (GYPSIES) IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THEIR LITERATURE

There are 219,554 Roms in Czechoslovakia (ČSSR) according to the census in 1970, while during the special statistical investigation of Roms in the year 1968, 226,467 persons were counted (i.e. 1.57 % of total Czechoslovak population). The discrepancy was caused by a different method of identification of Roms. The higher number is without doubt more correct. As the birth-rate of Roms is nearly double in comparison to the birth-rate of other Czechoslovak inhabitants, by now the number of Roms has increased not only in absolute dimensions but relatively as well.

Roms in Czechoslovakia belong to three statistically significant ethnic subgroups. The most numerous are the so-called "*Slovak*" *Roms* (80-82 %). Slovak Roms have settled since more than two hundred years in special—mostly ghetto like—colonies near Slovak villages. Their traditional profession was blacksmithy. Gradually some of them started to live on music, or had music as a subsidiary source of income. The second group are the so-called "*Hungarian*" *Roms* (approximately 13-15 %), who live in the south borderland of Slovakia and Hungary. The Hungarian Roms have also settled since about the last two centuries. Their traditional professions were music and blacksmithy. The subgroup of "*Vlachi*" *Roms* forms only 5 % of total Rom population in Czechoslovakia. In Europe, on the contrary, the Vlachi Roms are widely spread. They are known as *lovari* = horsedealers (from the Hungarian word ló=horse) and *calderari* or *kalderaš* = tinkers (from the Rumanian word caldera =kettle). Groups of lovari and kalderaš live nearly in all European countries. Vlachi in ČSSR were nomadic. By a law passed in the year 1958 they have been gradually led to a settled life. Their traditional profession was horse-dealing.

Some families representing other ethnic subgroups of Roms live scattered in different parts of ČSSR (specially the "German" Roms—*Sinti*), but they are statistically insignificant.

About 8,000 Roms lived in Czech lands before the Second World War. Czech lands were separated from Slovakia in 1939 and occupied by Nazis. Slovakia was nominally "independent", but of course it had to follow Nazi

policy. However, the direct dependence of Czech lands led to complete extermination of Roms by Nazis, while the majority of Slovak Roms survived.

Various subgroups of Roms manifested differences already on the territory of India. Most probably they formed distinct *jātis* belonging to the vast social strata of *Ḍoms*. The former social denotation *ḍom* (डोम) has in European conditions gradually gained the function of an ethnonym. Its lingual form has also changed: the cacuminal ḍ (ड) has changed into *r* (Rom in Europe), *l* (Lom in Armenia), dental *d* (Dom in Asia Minor). The primary *jāti* difference did not disappear when Roms arrived in Europe. A process of secondary differentiation took place. Various clan-groups of Roms determined by their specific traditional profession and way of living started to imbue ethnic, cultural and social influence from distinct European populations, among whom they lived for a longer time. Thus for instance the dialect of Slovak Roms differs from the Hungarian Romani not only in the basic structure —which may point to archaic difference—but by influence of Slovak and Hungarian respectively: Slovak Romani contains lexical and grammar borrowings from distinct Slovak local dialects, the Hungarian Romani shows impact of Hungarian. The same is, to some extent, apparent in culture and way of life. The Vlachi dialect shows an impact of Rumanian, as the Vlachi group lived in Rumania for a long time before moving to Czechoslovakia.

The appelation 'Gypsy', by which Roms are called in English-speaking countries, as well as the name 'Cikán/Cigán' which is still used by the Czech and Slovak public, implies the idea of nomadism and the traditional derrogatory attitude towards Roms. It also signals the false hypothesis about the origin of Roms, which the Europeans held for correct till the end of the 18th century when linguistics proved irrefutably the Indian origin of Roms. Until that time Roms were considered to have come from Egypt (Egyptianos—→ Gypsies) or to be descendants of the *atsinganoi* (—→Cikán)—a heretic sect from Asia Minor. To avoid the false connotations of the term Gypsy, we use their ethnonym Rom. It is in accordance with the prevailing international scientific usage and also with the tendency to replace appelatives of ethnic groups by their ethnonyms (for instance in USSR the derrogatory "Samoyedi" was replaced by the ethnonym "Nĕnci", in Canada tribal names of the aboriginals as "Cree" as used instead of the previous Red-Indian, etc.).

It was said that Roms in Czech lands were exterminated by Nazis during the Second World War. Still, after the reunion of Czech lands and Slovakia in 1945, many Roms migrated from the poor and backward parts of Eastern Slovakia to the industrially developed areas of Czech lands. Thus the 61,085

Roms who live in ČSR (Czech Socialist Republic) and form 0.62 % of its total population are the postwar immigrants from Slovakia. The rest 165,382 persons live in SSR (Slovak Socialist Republic) and form 3.67 % of its total population.

Roms are an ethnic minority, which lives in family and clan groups scattered throughout the whole territory of Czechoslovakia and is surrounded by heteroethnic and in a way also "heterosocial" environment. The sendentary (settled) Slovak and Hungarian Roms have never been totally isolated from the main society, as they supplied their non-Rom village neighbours with their blacksmithy products and musical services, for which they obtained a very poor livelihood—substantial food as milk and potatoes, exceptionally some money too. Living together with a constant stable non-Rom neighbourhood and being economically dependent on it, they had to come to a certain *modus vivendi*. For instance the settled Roms could never live on thefts as nomads, who were changing their social environment, often did. Although the Roms were in a way economically integrated with the rest of society, they lived in ecological, cultural and social isolation, on the periphery of society, in most miserable material conditions on the edge of starvation and on terms of mutual antagonism with the *gadžos* or non-Roms. Their social status was the lowest of all; that meant that Roms were deprived of many rights which even the poorest strata of the main population enjoyed.

This social situation determined also the culture of Roms. Until 1945 Roms were really excluded from the general compulsory primary education. Not by law—though during the Nazi power (1939-1945) by law also—but by current social practise. The result is: according to the census of 1970, 29.7 % of Roms in the age from 15-59 years are illiterate, while the illiteracy of total population in ČSSR amounts only to 1.3 %. The illiteracy among Roms over 60 years is 69.4 %.

High illiteracy in the past was one of the reasons by which the oral folklore art could not have developed into written literature. Social discrimination towards Roms made the process of class and professional differentiation very difficult: Roms never got to the point to have their own intelligentsia. When due to the industrial development Rom blacksmiths were gradually loosing possibility to find demand for their products, they never moved to a higher position on the social scale, but mostly sank to position of unskilled day labourers. The few Roms, who succeeded to become educated, often tried to part with their group, did not want to be considered 'Gypsies' any more, gave up their culture and ethnics just to avoid the unbearable social disdain. Thus the

art of Roms remained only a folk art—songs and folk tales. Songs were sung at *bašaviben*—getherings, where Roms played, sang and danced. Tales were told mostly by men also at getherings which lasted from early evening till next morning and in winter time took place nearly every day. Even now tales are told among Roms, specially when somebody dies, but because of television, which is owned nearly by every Rom family, the habit of tale-telling has declined.

The contemporary social situation means a total social change for Roms too. Roms as individual citizens have got the same rights as anybody else. Progress is visible mainly in the sphere of economics. 86.1 % Rom men in the productive age (15-59) are economically active, that means they have their stable work and regular income. The amount of employed Rom men equals the percentage of employed men population in ČSSR. It is true, the past discrimination manifests itself even in the present profession structure of Rom population: most of them still work as unqualified workers in industry (31.8 %), at building sites (23.7 %) in agriculture (22.0 %). However. the regular income enables Roms to improve their material conditions very quickly. Also by coming into everyday contact with the non-Roms, the mutual relations are getting much better.

Progress has been achieved also in the sphere of education. All Rom children attend school. It is true, nearly 40 % of them leave school in the fifth class of primary school and only about 14 % finish the compulsory 9 years of primary education, thus only those 14 % may continue their studies in higher schools. Low achievement of Rom children at school is caused by the difference between their mother tongue, Romani, and the medium of instruction, which is Czech, Slovak or languages of the nations neighbouring with ČSSR, whose national minorities live in borderlands of Czechoslovakia. However, even those children who attend just five primary classes are more educated than their parents, who attended only one or two classes and their grandparents who never went to school.

Thus the general literacy of the youngest generation of Roms, literacy which does not reach the level of the average non-Rom population but which highly surpasses the educational level of the older Rom generation, is one of the grounds on which written Rom literature could be based.

The first literary attempts of Rom authors were published in the Bulletin of the Union of Roms *Romano l'il* (Rom letter). The Union of Roms functioned as a constituent body of the National Front in the years 1969-1973. After Union of Roms stopped to exit, an important publicity platform for Rom litera-

ture was lost. By now it has not been replaced by any other. This has slowed down the process of development of Rom literature.

There are only very few Roms who have mastered Czech or Slovak to the degree of being able to create literature in these languages. All Roms know Czech or Slovak. For many of them these languages have become the main medium of communication. Speaking eight hours a day Czech/Slovak in their work, at school, hearing Czech/Slovak from TV and radio, they often do not switch to Romani even when they speak at home, in their families. Still, their Czech is a sort of ethnolect, where deep structure of Romani is calqued in lexical, contorted grammatical and phonetical forms of Czech. Moreover, proficiency which suffices for current conversation does not satisfy the demand of mastering a language as a creative medium of literary expression.

To my knowledge there are two Rom authors who have acquired such a perfect competency in the language of the main society, that they are able to write literature in it. One of them is Dezider Banga, aged about 35 years. He gained his university degree in philosophy. Dezider Banga published two books of beautiful poetry, inspired by the Spanish Rom poet Garcia Lorca. A book of Rom tales was also written by him in Slovak. Elena Lacková, a Rom woman, who took her university degree in sociology when 55 years old and being grandmother of nine grandchildren, wrote one theatre play in Slovak which was staged and published. In the play she describes her bitter experience during the Second World War, the attack of Nazis and the brutal dispersal of her Romani settlement. Elena Lacková has written also other works in Slovak, but they lack necessary literary qualities. On the other hand, stories which she wrote in Romani are very powerful, genuine and impressive.

Writing in Romani may be for Rom authors not only the question of better competence in this language: use of one's language evokes the whole social and cultural setting connected with that respective language; thus events described in Romani become more vivid, colourful and true.

Authors of any nation, before they started to write, had been 'educated' in some sort of a more elaborate code than the current speech is—it may be the nursery rhymes which they heard from their mothers, or plain folk songs and tales, or various styles of 'high literature'. What stylistic inspiration do Roms have at their disposal ? It is plain oral Rom folklore with poor stylistic and genre differentiation on the one hand and a very rich Czech and Slovak literature with elaborate styles and various genres on the other hand. Still, all this great richness of Czech and Slovak literature is rather irrelevant for many Rom writers as their source of stylistic inspiration, because they know very

little of it. They know mostly the language of everyday press, newspapers and journals, the language of TV and radio and perhaps also the language of Czech and Slovak folktale books. On the other hand they know very well all the 'poor wealth' of their own folk culture, because from the very childhood they have been hearing and singing Rom songs, listening to Rom tales or narrating them themselves, they were using the language of *pherasa* 'jokes', brushed up and polished by puns and embellished by metaphors, jokes which were a manifestation of politeness in current intercourse. Active use of the folklore art code of Romani was the creative force which cultivated in Rom authors the ability and potency to use their language as a literary medium, and to develop it further.

May be that in one or two generations Roms will master Czech and Slovak by which they, as a dispersed ethnic minority, are surrounded and which they have to use in growing contacts with the main society, which they hear throughout the day in all spheres of public life, which they learn to use actively and correctly at school and which enables them to study at high schools and universities and get a job in the intellectual sphere and thus holds for them an economic value, which attracts them for being a language of the more prestigeous major and dominant part of society. May be it will be easier for them to master Czech or Slovak, highly developed and cultivated languages than to fill in the vast lexical gap in Romani, the lack of expressions for material, social and cultural values, which Roms as the lowest and most discriminated strata of society had been chronically deprived of in the past and thus had no necessity to find lexical equivalents for those values. However, this is a question of the future. At present, the Roms, who feel the necessity to convey their sentiments, thoughts, their life experience, their experience in seeking one's own self-identification, position and place in a broader human group, in the society whose part they are, their own position in the world in which they live, can express all that better in Romani than in any other language. And if we wish that all human culture does not get deprived of a unique historical experience of one human group—the Roms—we should let the Roms speak out what they wish to say in the language in which they can convey their message most adequately.

The only small collection of Rom literature in Romani, *Cikánské texty*, is a cyclostyled booklet edited in 1973 by the regional educational institute in Ústí nad Labem as an auxiliary language textbook for teachers of Rom children. It was printed in two hundred copies and it was used in the fortnight summer-

holiday courses organised by the Czech Ministry of Education for teachers of Rom children.

The specimens of poetry which we present to our readers are mostly taken from this collection *Cikánské texty*. The following authors will be introduced: Bartoloměj Daniel, Franštišek Demeter, Vojtěch Fabián, Tera Fabiánová, Andrej Pešta. Their poems are printed in Romani followed by an English translation.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

The English translation is literal. A word by word translation does not give the reader an enjoyment of poetry, or rather of the poetical form, rhythm and melody, but we wish that those readers who are interested in Romani itself can more easily decipher the Romani text, and this purpose can be achieved only by help of a word to word translation. On the other hand, we are sure that a sensitive reader will be able to appreciate the unique expressive simplicity of Romani poetry, which is so full of sentiment, even from a rough literal translation.

DIALECT OF THE POETRY

All authors, whose verses are presented in this article write in the dialect of Slovak Roms. Tera Fabiánová belongs to the group of Hungarian Roms, but having married a Slovak Rom she adopted his dialect and uses it in her writings. As Romani started to be written only in 1969 in the *Romano l'il* (Bulletin of the Union of Roms), its literary code has not yet been fully elaborated. Thus we respect local varieties used by distinct authors. After all, the difference between the regional varieties in Slovak Romani is not very great. The greatest difference is between Eastern and Western Romani of the Slovak Rom subgroup. The only author originating from West Slovakia is Bartoloměj Daniel. Specific features of his regional subdialect have also been respected.

Examples of some regional differences: As this article is not a linguistic study, we do not aim at presenting the complete system of regional differences. We want to make the reader aware of the most striking ones.

initial *s/h* : East-Slovak Romani: *sar* (how, when), *savo* (which), *sas* (was) ... etc.

West-Slovak Romani: *har, havo, has*.

l'/l : One of the formants of the perfect tense is *-l'-* in E-Sl. R., while in W-Sl.R. it is a non-palatal *-l-*. On the whole the *-l* palatalisation in

W-Sl. Romani is very rare and probably quite recent (influence of language contacts).

infinitive ending *-el/-en* : in Slovak Romani the infinitive *-el* ending is prevalent (me kamav te ker*el* = I want to do). Tera Fabiánová in correspondence with her husband's dialect uses *-en* (kamav te ker*en*). Infinitive *-en* ending is also typical for Hungarian Romani.

-a/-as ending of the 3rd. person sg. perfect tense

kerd'*a*/derd'*as* (he did), gejl'*a*/gejl'*as* (he went), šund'*a*/šun*d'as* (he heard), etc.

We do not mention here the lexical regional differences, as they are, through increasing social contact, changing from regional varieties into stylistic varieties.

The Rom authors are bound also to coin many neologisms, because their language, Romani, was in past used by the lowest strata of population, to which a lot of material, social and cultural values of the main society were not accessible, thus it was not challenged by a social necessity to create denotations for those values. For instance B. Daniel created a neologism for book *gend'i* (from *genel* = to read), while Andrej Pešta coined a word *l'ilvar* from *l'il* = letter). Both these words are very well understandable to any Rom and thus they may easily become synonyms.

TRANSCRIPTION OF ROMANI

Transcription of Romani was worked up for the use of the bulletin *Romano l'il* (1969-1973) and for the textbooks of Romani for Czech/Slovak public. Thus it respects some rules of Czech orthography, those which do not contradict Romani phonetic and grammatical structure.

The main principles of our transcription correspond also to the current international transcription of Romani. For instance: we use ' for palatalization, a sign which, by the way, the international transcription has adopted from Czech. We differ in writing *ch* (*kh*) in correspondence with Czech instead of the international χ (adopted from the Greek alphabet).

Romani distinguishes long and short vowels. In the East-Slovak Romani, which is the most spread, the vocalic quantity is conditioned by accent and accent is usually on the last but one syllable. Thus we do not use any sign to differentiate the vocalic quantity.

' : this sign (which in Czech and Slovak denotes vocalic quantity) is used only in the abbreviated form of 1st person sg. future tense and imperfect (which functions also as conditional): *me džava - me džá* (I will go), *me džás* (I was going, I would go). *Džas*—pronounced shortly—means thou goeth or we go.

The old loans from Czech or Slovak which were phonetically and grammatically adapted to R. are written in Romani transcription. The recent loans, which are taken over not only in the form of their lexical basis but mostly with Czech/Slovak endings as well, are written in Czech/Slovak orthography.

We are aware of some inconsistency or double norm in writing some words (for instance: *pandž|panč* = five; *gel'om|gejl' om* = I went, etc), but only more writing practise can decide for the more efficient norm.

Further the pronunciation of distinct sounds and corresponding letters will be given: (stress is denoted by ')

a	अ आ	*baro*	बारो	big;	*bareder*	बरेदेर	bigger
b	ब	*biš*	बिश	twenty:	*beršˊ*	बेर्श	year
c	त्स	*cikno*	त्सिक्नो	small;	*cilo*	त्सिलो	club
č	च	*čik*	चिक्	mud, clay;	*čirla*	चिर्ल	long ago
čh	छ	*čhavo*	छावो	Rom boy;	*čhin!*	छिन	cut!
d	द	*dand*	दँद	tooth;	*de!*	दे	give!
d'	द्य	*god'i*	गोद्यि	reason, brain			
dž	ज	*dźa!*	ज	go!	*ladž*	लज	shame
e	ए	*kher*	खेर	house;	*ezeros*	एज़ेरोस	thousand
f	फ़	*foros*	फ़ोरोस	town			
g	ग	*gav*	गव	village;	*goro*	गोरो	white man
h	ह	*hin*	हिन	(he, she) is;	*ha*	ह	yes
ch	ख़	*chas*	ख़स	cough;	*charo*	ख़रो	sward
i	इ ई	*ič* इच		yesterday	*jilo* यीलो	heart;	*jilestar* यिलेस्तर ablative: out of my heart
j	य	*jandro*	यँद्रो	egg;	*jalo*	यालो	raw
k	क	*kan*	कन	ear;	*kalo*	कलो	black
kh	ख	*khas*	खस	hay;	*kham*	खम	sun
l	ल	*lačho*	लाछो	good;	*lav* लव word;	*le!* ले	take!
l'	ल्य	*l'il*	ल्यिल	letter			
m	म	*mačho*	माछो	fish;	*muj*	मुय	face, mouth
n	न	*nak*	नक	nose;	*nevo*	नेवो	new
n'	न्य	*n'iko*	न्यिको	nobody;	*piran'i*	पिरान्यि	beloved (she)
o	ओ	*ora*	ओर	hour;	*dori*	दोरि	string
p	प	*per*	पेर	abdomen;	*papin*	पपिन	goose
					pan'i	पान्यि	water
ph	फ	*phuro*	फुरो	old;	*phiko*	फीको	shoulder
r	र	*raklo*	राक्लो	non-Rom boy;	*ran'i*	रान्यि	lady

r' specific sound in Czech language; in Romani only in loan words

s	स	*suv*	सुव	needle;	*sap*	सप	snake
š	श	*šun!*	शुन	hear! listen!	*kašt*	कश्त	(piece of) wood
t	त	*terno*	तेर्नो	young;	*tato*	तातो	hot
th	थ	*thuv*	थुव	smoke;	*thav*	थव	thread
t'	त्य	*rat'i*	रात्यि	at night			
u	उ ऊ	*učo*	ऊचो	height;	*kuč*	कुच	expensive
v	व	*veš*	वेश	forest;	*vušt*	वुश्त	lip
x	like English *x*; in loan words like *existinel* to exist						
y	sound denoted by this letter does not differ from *i*; used only in new loan words from Czech/Slovak						
z	ज़	*zor*	ज़ोर	force, power			
ž		*žeba*		pocket;	*žamba*		frog

BARTOLOMĚJ DANIEL

NAJŠUKAREDER GIL'I	THE NICEST SONG
Ehas aiso šukar d'ives	It was such a nice day
so les o čoro Rom	as if a poor Rom
il'ahas andre posit'i,	had taken it out of his pocket,
sar kana bokhal'i čhajori	as if a hungry Rom girl
peske duj trin phabora	had pluced two, three apples
čhingerel pro drom.	on her way.
Ehas ajso šukar dives,	It was such a nice day
so andro veša pajtrune	as if the birds*
o čiriklore gil'avenas	in the leafy woods*
pri gil'i pal o baro kamiben	had made it in their songs
the lačhipen.	about great love and goodness.
Čak o čoro Rom	Only a poor Rom
chalovelas le gil'enge	could understand those songs
so pal leste	which came to him
dural pašal džanas:	from far and near:
hoj jov džanel	he knows
but'i hart'ikañi te kerel,	how to do a smith's work
hoj jov džanel	he knows
te bašavel	to play
odi najšukareder gil'i.	the most beautiful song.

* Lit. as if in the leafy woods/ the birds had made it by singing
Leafy woods: woods with trees that have no needles but leaves.

PIRAN'I

O kham mek ehas učes
kana pral o parne, žuta the lole
ruži rosa perelas,
pherd'i lendar e phuv ačhelas,
e čar len avri uštarelas
the vičinelas: "Lačho d'ives, mre čhavore!"

O kham mek ehas učes,
kana mange biš berš ehas,
me la dikhavas har andro sune,
o na, me la dikhavas har džid'a
*—havi has joj šukar, šukarori.**

Avka ehas joj šukar, har kana
o kham th'o čhon la te dinehas
ola najšukareder znaki
har la te čumind'ahas
oda najšukareder d'ives.

O kham mek ehas učes
kana preko pan'i, preko veša gejl'om,
kaj mira piran'a te dikhav.

ČHILAV

Chude čhaje, chude
jepaš phabaj, jepaš čhilav—
nane man n'iko,
na lačhes me džívav.

Chude, čhaje, chude
jepaš phabaj, jepaš čhilav,
tav mange chumer le čhilavenca
kaj me tuha lačhes te džívav.

Chude čhaje, chude
jepaš phabaj, jepaš čhilav
av ke mande, av ke mande
phená tuke phená,

THE BELOVED

The sun was still high
when on the white, yellow and red
roses' dew wasfalling,
the earth was full of them,
the grass was waking them up
and calling: "Good morning, my children!"

The sun was still high
when I was twenty years old,
I saw her like in a dream,
oh no, I saw her real, alive
—How beautiful she was, how very beautiful.

She was so beautiful
as if the sun and the moon gave her
the most beautiful signs,
as if the most beautiful day
had kissed her.

The sun was still high
when I crossed water, crossed woods
to see my beloved.

THE PLUM

Take, girl, take
half of an apple, half of a plum—
I have nobody,
I do not live well.

Take, girl, take
half of an apple, half of a plum.
Cook some dough with plums for me,
so that I live nicely with you.

Take, girl, take
half of an apple, half of a plum,
come to me, come to me
I will tell you, I will tell you

hoj tut kamav,	that I love you
hoj pal tute trin berš phirav.	that I have been courting you three years.

* *šukarori* is a diminutive form (fem.) from *šukar:* diminutive form implies tenderness.

FRANTIŠEK DEMETER

GULO SUNO

Dikhav veš želeno,
šunav gil'avipen
šukar čiriklano.
Kamav tut mro jilo
andre tu zakamlo,
vastestar tut chudav
pal e bari čar tuha denašav.
Tu asas a me pre tute,
denašas až skhama'rde sam—
terd'il'am.
Pricirn'om tut kija peste
o khaml'ipen tuke khoskerav
tro mujoro čumidkerav.
Bešl'am andre bari čar,
jekh avres hlaskinahas
šukar lava amenge vakerahas

So dujdžene ča jekh kamahas.
Kerd'am so amare jile terne
žadinenas,
bachtune samas
pre phuv pašl'uvahas
igen pes kamahas.

Tosara ušt'il'om
chol'amen ačhil'om
Soske oda suno
buter, buter na gejl'om?
So bi vaše dàs
te bi laha
mek sune džàs...

SWEET DREAM

I see a green wood,
I hear singing
beautiful (singing) of birds,
I love you my heart,
I am in love with you,
I take you by hand
I run with you behind high grass.
You smile and I smile at you
we run to perspiration—
we stood still.
I brought you near me,
I am wiping your perspiration
I am kissing your (dear) face.
We sat down in the high grass
we stroked each other
we were talking nice words to each other

we both wanted only one thing.
We did what our young hearts
desired,
we were happy
we were lying on the earth
we loved each other very much.

I got up in the morning
I was disappointed
Why did not I dream that dream
longer, longer?
What would I give
for being able
to dream about her again...

MRI DAJORI PHURI

Mri dajori, miri sal tu,
imar phuri, phuri sal,
lačhi sal, bo tu man chovind'al

Chovind'al phares
mri dajori džanes,
hoj kamav tut.

Ser mek somas cikn'ori
gil'avehas gil'ori,
me e gil'i šunavas,
pre tre vasta zasovás.

PRO KERESTOS KHOSNORO

Rat – o čhonoro sitinel,
ča jekh čha
jekh so la kamel a joj les
dikhen pre roman'i vatra.

N'ič na šund'ol, cicho hin.
Šun, cikno čhavoro zarudn'as,
al'e e daj leskeri
il'a les pro vasta, te pijel din'as

– gulones zasut'a.

Astazie, čhajori miri,
na dikhl'as tut n'iko
sar avehas kija mande ?

Na, na dikhl'a.
Sar imar sovenas, urd'om man opre.

perdal e blaka
denašl'om kija tute.

MY OLD MOTHER

Oh my mother you are mine
oh how old, how old you are
you are good, because you brought me up

You brought me up with difficulties,
you know, my mother,
that I love you.

When I was little
you used to sing a song.
I listened to that song
and fell asleep in your arms.

KERCHIEF ON THE CROSS

Night—the moon shines,
only one boy
one who loves her and she (loves) him
are looking towards the Rom colony.

Nothing is to be heard.
Listen, a little baby started to cry,
but his mother
took him into arms and gave him her breast to drink
—it fell asleep sweetly.

Astazia, my girl,
did nobody see you
when you were coming to me?

No, nobody saw me.
I dressed, when they were already asleep.
Through the window
I ran away after (to) you.

Sar pašl'uvás pre tute mišlinás:
When I was lying I was thinking of you

joj, mro čhavoro miro užarel!
oh, my boy, mine, he is waiting!
Pharo mange tut sas,
I was sorry for you
al'e imar sar denašás
but when I was flying
me asás.
I was laughing.

Chudn'a la pro vast, čumidn'a,
He took her by hand, kissed her,
čumidn'a les pale,
she kissed him back,
joj mri somnakun'i daje, kamav les,
oh, my dear (golden) mother, I love him
kamav bares.
I love him very much.

Chudn'a les, pricirdn'a kija peste
He took her, brought her close to him
avkes sar te bi denašel kamelas:
as if he wanted to fly:
Laci miro, kamav tut,
My laci, I love you,
našti džívav bija tut.
I cannot live without you.

Astazio, denašas
Astazia, let us fly.
pre soste mek užaras?
For what are we waiting?
Tri fajta man na kamel,
Your people do not like me.
našt'i džanes so šaj jel
You do not know what can happen.
šaj tut den pal aver.
They can get you married to another one.

**Laci, kamav tut, kamav,*
Laci, I love you, I love (you).
to me tuha denašá
If I fly with you
mra dajora mre dades
I will never again see
šoha na dikhá
my mother, my father.
so te kerel devlale...?
What to do, oh Gods...?

*This poem describes an elopement, which very often takes place when parents hinder the love affair of the young couple and wish their daughter or son to get married to another partner. Often, when the first child is born, the parents get reconciled again.

Dikh, o vudud labol andre tumaro kher
Look, the light is burning in your house.
imar tut tumare roden!
Your people are looking for you!

Laci, vigos mange ela
te pes dodžanena
hoj tuha som.

Laci, it is my end
if they come to know
that I am with you.

Paš amare khera kerestos,
o del opre primardo hino,
bari dukh les sas
avkes man adi rat dukh ela.
Práver d'ives te kameha
thov tro khosnoro por rani,
e dukh preačhola,
Me džanava,
hoj pre mire lava priačhoha.

There is a cross near our huts.
Christ is on that cross.
He was suffering great pain.
I will suffer the same pain tonight.
Next day, if you wish
put your kerchief on his wounds,
the pain will stop,
for I will know
that you will follow me (my words).

Aver d'ives ul'ila—
o kham sitinel,
o Roma asan, čhave vriskinen,

o Romn'ija andro gav džan.

Next day arose—
the sun is shining
Roms are laughing, children make noise

Rom women go to the village.

Dikhe pro kerestos khosnoro.
Oda la Astaziakero...
Ile tele—
cindo sas.

They see a kerchief on the cross
It is (the kerchief) of Astazia...
They took it down—
It was wet.*

*I was present when the young author recited his poem in a group of about seventy Roms. They liked it very much. Women were touched to tears. Then an excited debate took place, why the kerchief was wet. Some said it was from blood, because the father killed the girl to prevent her running away with the fry, some supposed it was from tears as the girl wept that she will have to leave her mother. The poet did not disclose his idea and said it was up to the reader to understand the end as he wants.

PAN'ORI ŠILALO

Pan'ori šilalo,
sar me tut predžava
anen le grajores
me tut prechut'ava.

OH, COLD WATER

(Oh) cold water,
how shall I cross you ?
Bring me the horse
I will jump over you.

Prechut'l'om o pan'i
prechut'lom o verchi
o vešora predžava
ke piran'i avava.

I jumped over water
I jumped over hills
I will cross the woods
I will come to my beloved.

Imar pre me kivinel,
imar pre me vičinel:
chut'i tele av ke mande
bo paš tute mište mange.

She already winks at me,
she already calls me:
jump down, come to me
I feel well at your side.

VOJTĚCH FABIÁN

O KHURORO

O graja džan te pijel pa 'i.
taj o čhon pre čar dikhel.
chut'kerel peske o hačuris—
verdan mek na cirdel.

THE FOAL

The horses come to drink water.
And the moon looks at the grass.
The foal jumps to and fro—
he does not pull car yet.

So jov džanel?
terno hino—so grajen užarel.

How should he know?
he is still young—what (fate) expects the horses?

Jov džanel ča peskra dajora,
aver mek na prindžarel.

He knows only his (dear) mother,
and is not aware of anything else.

MIRO JILO IL'A E ČHAJ

Džal o verdan le dromeha,
ča o del džanel kaj,
imar dikhav čikn'i čerchen'
e rat avla maj.

ROM GIRL TOOK MY HEART

The car goes down the road,
only God knows where (it goes),
I see one little star
Night will come soon.

Phiravas me odoj rat'i,
lavula manca sas,
ola čhake paš e chan'ig
gil'a bašavás.

*When I was young I used to walk
down the bank
to a well
not far away from here.

Le partoha odoj tele
nadur adarig,

I used to go there at night
and had my violin with me.

---

* Lit. transl.: down the bank/ not far away from here/ I used to go when I was young to a well.

phiravas sar somas terno
paše jekh chan'ig.

Čirla gejle ola berśa,
o pan'i len il'a,
miro jilo il'a e čhaj—
peskero na din'a.

*At the well I played songs
to a Rom girl.

Gone are those years,
water took them away,
**The girl took away my heart—
But she did not give hers (to me).

TERA FABIÁNOVA

AV MANCA — COME WITH ME

Av manca čhajori, odoj kaj miri daj bešel,
Come with me, my lassie, there where my mother lives,
kámende o Roma sako rat paramisa phenen.
There, among my people, Roms tell tales every night.
Av manca, ma dara, me tut na mukhava,
Come with me, do not fear, I will not abandon you,
bibacht an'i ladž tuke na kerava.
I will not cause any unhappiness nor shame to you.
Sar o Roma dikhena, hoj me tut anav,
As soon as our Roms see me bringing you along,
takoj o lavuti lačharena.
At once they will tune their violins.
Amen na sam čore, te nane kaj te sovel,
We are not poor even if we have no bed to sleep in,
pre dvora hin phuri pendech—o pajtra želene,
There is an old walnut tree in our courtyard—green leaves,
odoj tuke than kerava, sar avla rupun'i rat,
there I will lay bed for you, when silver night comes,
tel tute lačharava miro jekhfeder gad,
I will spread under you my best shirt,
a sar tut ela šil, vičinav o n'ebos, kaj tut te zaučharel.
and if you feel cold, I will call the heaven to cover you.
Ko rašaj na džaha—jekhetane amen dela amaro gulo del.
We shall not go to the priest—sweet God himself will join us together.

---

*to that girl at the well/ I played songs
** my heart took the girl/ hers she did not give

Te manca aveha, te manca dživeha,
If you come with me, if you live with me,
Kamaha amen sar odi kal'i phuv le kale mareha.
we shall love each other as the black earth and the black bread (love each other).

AV ANGLAL

Av anglal,
the tu terd'uv kadaj,
te iš o muj tuke kalo,
the tuke o than kadaj.
Tro jilo lačho hin
sar kalo maro
Sar kotor des
takoj o manuš čalo.

COME FORWARD

Come (step) forward,
you too stand here,
even if you have a black face,
also your place is here.
Your heart is good
like black bread
When you give a piece (of it)
one is satiated.
(Lit.: man is no more hungry)

AUTHOR'S COMMENT ON THIS POEM

La da sas pherdo čhave, deš. Panč mule, bo andre čoripen mule. La vičinde kada berš pro Narodno vyboris,[1] hoj la dena vyznamenáni. Al'e joj na džanelas, soske la vičinen. Joj bares daralas—sem na kerd'a n'ič, sem hin'i pat'ivali manušn'i ! So latar kamen ! Jon lake phende : ma dara n'ič, kodoj džaneha. Odoj gejl'a—imar sas odoj the butera—al'e joj ča furt terd'olas pale. Sas odoj jekh Romn'i maškar o gadžija, bo jekhphureder hin'i joj a ola sa Romn'ija mule, so len sas ajci čhave, a ajci berš lenge hin. Ta joj ladžalas, garuvelas pes pale, daralas, so ela. No pal'is la vičinde naveha a dine lake vyznamenáni, madajla vaš oda, hoj ajci čhave la sas, andre bida bokh len avri barard'a a savore hine lačhe manuša. Ta pal koda me gondolinavas, sar kerd'om kodi gil'i.

My mother had a lot of children: ten. Five children died, they died because of great poverty. My mother was called this year to the National Committee[1] to be rewarded. But she did not know, why she had been called there. She was very much afraid—why, she did not do anything! She is an honest woman! What do they want from her ? They told her: don't be afraid,

[1] It is a habit to reward mothers who have many children and have brought them up properly at the occasion of the International Day of Women (8th March). The reward is given by the local branch of the National Committee (a body of people's government).

you will come to know there (in the National Committee). She came there—some other (women) were there too—but she was standing all the time aback. She was there the only Rom woman among the non-Roms, because she was the eldest and all other Rom women, who had so many children in grown up age, had died. Thus (my mother) was ashamed. She was trying to hide herself. She was afraid, what will happen. Then she was called by name and she was given a reward, a medal because she had so many children, she brought them up in hunger, distress and poverty and all of them are good people. I composed my song when I thought of this (event).

ANDREJ PEŠTA

MIRA DAKRE KALE BALA

Mra da ehas šukar bala
ajse kale sar angara,
ajse bare sar grastane,
bašavna jon sa romane.

Paš o pan'i beželas,
peskre bala chanelas,
andro pan'i dikhelas,
šukar peske gil'avlas.

Kana balvaj phurdelas,
joj peske len phandelas
pašal peste ruženca.
Av, romn'ije, amenca,

dikh, Romn'ije, so keraha,
amen tuke bašavaha.
de man čepo tre bala,
mro hinovos bašavla.

E daj le balendar čhind'as,
andro hinovos len thod'as,
e lavuta rovlas leske,
duj hajtan'a khad'as peske.

BLACK HAIR OF MY MOTHER

My mother had pretty hair
as black as coal,
as long as the mane of a mare,
they sang like a Romani song.

She sat at the water bank,
combing her hair,
she looked into the water,
and sang nicely to herself.

When the wind blew,
she tightened her hair
with roses.
"Oh, Rom woman, come with us,

Look, Rom woman, what shall we do,
we will play for you,
give me a little of your hair,
the bow of my violin will play."

My mother cut some of her hair,
she fastened it to the bow.
The violin wept
and she braided her hair into plaits.

Khud'as peske ruženca,
khelelas le Romenca,
le Romenca khelelas,
lakre bala bašavnas.

She fixed her hair with roses
and danced with Roms
She danced with Roms
and her hair was playing the violin.

Sar joj čori merelas,
savore Rome rovenas.
Lakre bala dobašade,
sar la andro mochto thode.

When she was dying
all Roms wept
When she sank down in the coffin
her hair played for the last time.

BARVALI'IPEN MIRO — MY WEALTH

E rat the o d'ives oda miro barval'ipen,
The night and the day that is all my wealth.
e rat peskero pharo šero andro čerchen'a te sovel thovel,
The night lays down its heavy head to doze among the stars.
asal andal o suno the rupuno vudud kerel,
She smiles, while dreaming with a silver-light smile.
tel o veš andre čar sovav a jov dikhel o čačipen.
I sleep in the grass where the wood begins,
Oda kral'ovstvos miro, birinav the ul'arav les,
the wood which knows the truth.
o svetos paš mre pindre, o rajos mange o vast podel,
That all is my kingdom which I own and share.
mri vod'i sovel, al'e o jilo phenel:
The world is at my feet, the paradise reaches me its hand.
dža! rakin phurda svetos svetostar a ma dara tut!
My mind is still asleep, but my heart speaks:
Andro šišitšagos orijaša bare anglal mre jakha,
Go! Build bridges to join one world with the other.
mek baron, dikhav len daraha—
Go and have no fear!
oda o čhon the o čerchen'a učaja keren rat'aha.
Big giants grow in the darkness before my eyes, I look at them with shiver.
Barval'ipen miro o pan'i the o veš,
But those are only the moon and stars playing with shadows of the dawn.

o želene riti, the o šukar lulud'a, o želene veša,
My wealth are the waters and the wood,
Av khamoro somnakuno, pro bar tuke beš.
Green meadows, nice flowers, green groves.
O veš šukares bašavel—oda o čirikle
Oh, come you golden Sun and sit with me on a stone.
dži pre aver svetos lošaha chut'él mri vod'i,
The woods play—those are the birds
oda mange avel sa andre mri god'i,
and my soul full of joy jumps to other worlds.
kaj me čak zadikhav, sa šukar mirikle.
All that I can embrace with my eyes and spirit
is gay like the neclace of a Rom woman.
My black heart says to me: have no fear,
All this wealth belongs to you too.
My hands and my feet—that is my wealth,
My two black eyes—that is my world,
My black heart—soft and sweet like honey.
I hope that God will give me health.

UPRE[1] *ROMA!*	FORWARD ROMS !
Amen čore Romen bares chochavenas	We, poor Roms were very much deceived.
o barvale but'i igen phari denas.	The rich would let us work hard.
Našt'i an'i o muj pale phuterahas	We even could not open our mouth (back)
andal e but'i avri amen čhivkerenas.	we were fired from work.
Dost but'i phari tumenge barvale kerd'am,	Oh you rich, we did enough hard work for you,
dost barval'ipen amare vastendar mozol'endar	enough wealth (you have had) from our hands and calluses!
Kana but'i keras kamas the te džível	When we work, we want to live as well
kamas volne te džível, kamas jekhetaniben.[2]	we want to live freely, we want our unity.

[1] *opre, upre*=Hindi *ūpar.*

[2] *jekhetane* is an adverb derived from the words *jekh*, Hindi *ék* and *thān*, Hindi *sthān*, *jekhtane* means 'together, in one place'. *Jekhetaniben* is a recent neologism meaning unity and also Union; for instance *Romano jekhetaniben*=Union of Roms.

Mukh tiro roviben pal oda čoripen,	Weep no more for that poverty,
vasde tire musa phen: upre Roma,	Lift up your arms, say: forward Roms!
džaha jekhetane, buter avla vaha,	If we (all) go together, it will have more force.
ma phen, hoj na kames, ačheha but palal.	Do not say, that you don't want, you will stay back.
Imar avel šukar d'ives,	The nice day is coming (for us).
imar anglal aven o lole čerchen'a,	Red stars are rising in front
o lole čerchen'a so avka tat'aren	red stars, which make us warm
so amenge le Romenge bari bacht anen.	which bring to us, to Roms, great happiness.
Vasde tiri burn'ik a phen kamav but'i	Lift up your palm and say: I wish to work!
Mi khaml'ol mro čekat vaš amari but'i	My forehead may perspire in the work for us.
so buter keraha, buter khaml'uvaha	The more we work, the more we shall perspire,
al'e čak amenge le proletarenge!	but it is (the work) for us, for the proletarians!
Upre Roma, ma daras, ma das pes te bond'arel,	Forward Roms, don't let us get bowed, don't let us fear!
ma das pes te chochavel.	Don't let us get deceived.
Upre Roma, ma daras pes,	Forward Roms, don't let us fear,
upre Roma, sikhl'aras pes!	Forward Roms, let us learn!

THE AUTHORS INTRODUCE THEMSELVES

BARTOLOMĚJ DANIEL

Har me dźivavas

Ul'il'om andro jekh ezeris en'a šel the biš the štarto berš (1924). Ul'il'om andre bari famelija, Šašt'inate, the ehas deševtangro d'ives andro dešto čhon. Savore samas panč phrala the duj phen'a. me somas najterneder.

Avka har čore Roma, ta avka the amen džid'ovahas. Mro dad kerelas paš e obca har keribnaskero preko biš the en'a berš. Mri daj has khere, the kana šaj, the joj phirelas te kerel ko ran'a, avri te thovel, vaj le bare ran'enge sobotone barso te kerel.

Al'e kana našt'i, ta ačhelas khere, tavelas. Pales jevende kerelas o vurci vaš o gadžij a.

Andre sikhl'ard'i phiravas kana has mange šov berš. Akor has oda avrether har ada-d'ives. Savore pisanki the sikhl'arde ginde tuke moste kinehas, al'e has amen adesi lačhi sikhl'aribn'i, hoj amenge savoro delas hijaba. Amen le čhavoren dikhelas igen rado, kamelas joj, kaj amen te sikhl'ovas varesoske. Sako d'ives amenge tavelas o thud the delas amen pre prestavka, thó rohlika. Kana avri gel'om e pančto tr'ida the gel'om pre měšt'anka—bareder sikhl'ard'i—ta has amenge pharo.

Har man doresl'om pre bareder sikhl'ard'i, phiravas odoj duj berš, kana avle kija moca o hlinkovci. Andro 1939 berš avle the o Němci, o němcika sasi Šašinu, ta pales has amenge igen na lačhes.

Phiravas the le phralenca te kerel, kaj has but'i, al'e pales har mro dad nasval'il'as, lilom e but'i misto leske. Le phralen lile o Němci pro but'a andro Ungri. Kana mro dad andro 1944 berš mulas, lilom e but'i celo me. Avka keravas dži andro 1945, berš, kana avle amari phuv te osvobod'inel o Sovětska sasi. Akor džanás, hoj amenge avla lačhes, hoj amen šaj keras kaj kam, the o Roma ča akor šaj džid'ovnas pal pro džividen.

Barš pal o mariben andro 1946 man lile har sasos. Me služinavas pre sasikano maro Dačicate, Jihlavate the Olomuciste. Olomuciste prindžard'om man jekhe rajeha sasikaneha, has oda igen lačho manuš. Preko d'ives vaj kijarat'ate man vičinelas ke peste, delas man igen šukar the lačhe ginde, kaj man te sikhl'ovav. Phiravas leskra famelijaha andro kinos, d'ivadios the bars kaj.

Akor mange leperavas pre mre khere, the pro lava dadeskere, hoj man kamlas andre sikhl'arde te del, ta phenavas mange, hoj moste man korkoro sikhl'arav le gindendar. Ginavas sa, so mange tel o vasta avelas. Andro 1948 berš, imar pal o sasikano maro, gel'om te kerel prahu the odoj ačhlom. Keravas pro statki. Vaš e lačhi but'i man dine l'il, kaj man te len andre bari sikhl'ard'i. Avka lilom te phirel andre bari sikhl'ard'i andro 1950 berš. Oda somas už the politicky pr'oda kerdo anglal, phiravas pro maška-rutne le ternengre, pro brigadi the avka aver.

Kana šunavas pre bari sikhl'ard'i o dumi le profesorengre, phend'om mange, hoj me moste savori god'i the zor dav vaš oda, kaj te phenav le Romenge čačipen, kaj te phenav lenge sa avri, vasoske o Roma angoder e bari briga ikerenas, vasoske jon pes našl'i n'ikhaj dochudenas, vasoske n'achalonas le gadženge a o gadže n'achalonas le Romenge. Vasoske le Romen na has lačhi but'i the vasoske lengri but'i na has sakod'iveseskri.

E bari sikhl'ard'i phird'om avri andro 1955 berš, gelom te kerel. Keravas odoj the adaj, keravas archivarsko but'i, sikhl'aravas le čhavoren, the keribnaskero somas, charnones keravas sa. No andro berš 1969 man la romn'aha the le čhavorenca preste-

hind'om Brnu the adaj som dži akanak. Štar berš keravas adaj andro Romano jekhetaniben.

Soske čhinav romanes? Vašoda kaj mange o Roma te chalon. Myšlinav, hoj o Roma pockerus avna Romenge, romanes kamna te vakerel the te ginel the te čhinel. Me kamav te čhinel pral o Roma chalard'i gind'i, adesi, so šaj pes ginlas maškar lende but berš.

Le Romenge kamás te phenel mre gilenca, hoj pašal o Roma ehas angoder o šukaripen the ehi the avla všadi, čak kaj ačhel. Talam sako Rom džanel, so hi vaš leske šukar the so na, jov džanel andre roman'i čhib te del avri talam sa.

Roman'i literatura šaj sikhavel le gadženge, hoj o Rom hi kulturna manuša, hoj lengeri kultura hin hodno avri te barol har avre literaturi.

HOW I LIVED

I was born in 1924 (year). I was born in a big family, in Šaštín and it was the 19th day in the tenth month. All (together) we were 5 brothers and 2 sisters. I was the youngest.

As poor Roms, so we too lived. My father worked as a servant in the village (office) about 29 years. My mother was at home, and when (she) could, even she went to work for the ladies, to wash, or to do this and that for the ladies on saturdays. But when she could not, she stayed at home, and cooked. In the winter she made brushes for the *gadžija* (non-Rom village women).

I went to school when I was 6 years (old). That time it was different from today. You had to buy all the copy books and text books[1], but we had such a good teacheress, that she gave us all without paying. She liked the *čhavore*[2]. She wanted, that we should learn to become something. Every day she cooked milk for me and she gave it to us in the school break, the rolls too. When I came out of the fifth class and went to the *měšt'anka*[3]— the

[1] The socialist Czechoslovak states ensure all children free copybooks and textbooks at school. This sort of social welfare naturally did not exist either during or before the war. Though primary education was free upto the fifth class, children had to buy books, copybooks etc. For Roms, who were the poorest strata of population and who often lacked their daily food, it was impossible to procure schoolbooks for their children.

[2] *čhavo*=Rom boy ; Rom son / *čhave* (plural)=Rom boys, Rom children, *čhavore*=diminutive form of *čhave*. *Čhaj*=Rom girl.

Roms differentiate in their language Rom boy/girl from non-Rom boy (*raklo*)/girl (*rakl'i*), as well as they have distinct words for Rom and non-Rom (*gadžo*).

[3] *měšt'anka* is a Czech word denoting a sort of secondary school which existed before the second world war. It was a four-year school which children could have entered after finishing five years of primary school. Children who finished měšt'anka could not continue their studies at the University.

secondary school—it was very hard for us (we were very bad off).

When I got to the secondary school, I went there (attended it) two years, when the *hlinkovci*[4] took power (came to power) In the year 1939 the Germans came. The German soldiers (came) to Šaštín, then again we were very bad off.

I went with my brothers to work where work was (where it was possible to get work). But then my father fell ill. I took over his job. My brothers were taken by Germans for forced labour to Hungary[5]. When my father died in 1944, I took over his whole job. So I was working till 1945, when the Soviet soldiers came to liberate our country. Then I knew, that we will be well off, that we shall be able to work wherever (we want), and that the Roms only now will be able to live their own life.

A year after the war in 1946 I was taken to military service (they took me as soldier). I was on service (on the soldier's bread) in Dačice, Jihlava and Olomouc[6]. In Olomouc I got acquainted with one military *raj* (big man, gentleman, officer). He was a very good man. During the day or in the evening he called me to him (to his place). He was giving me good and nice books, so that I can learn. I went with his family to the cinema, theatre and elsewhere.

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[4] *hlinkovci* were the members of a fascist party founded and led by a man called Hlinka. This party initiated the movement which lead to separation of Slovakia from Czech lands in 1939. Hlinka's party shared the reactionary racist ideology of Nazism; thus Jews and Roms were cruelly persecuted during the Second World War. However, there was an interesting difference in attitude towards the Jews and Roms. Jews were exterminated because the racist ideology against them was based on a material interest of Nazis: to rob away their money and property. Most of the Jews being lawyers, doctors, factory owners and businessmen were quite rich. Roms were absolutely poor, nothing could have been robbed from them; on the other hand they could have been used as very cheap working power for digging trenches against the Soviet army. Thus Rom men in Slovakia were taken to forced labour camps. According to the law 163/1941 Rom colonies were demolished and Roms were moved from the outskirts of villages to woods. They were not allowed to enter a village after 8 o'clock in the morning. The law 501-D/336-1/44 prevented them to travel by train. Rom children were not allowed to go to school. Thus the six years of fascist power ruined the Rom population physically and mentally too.

[5] Many men were sent to forced labour camps not only in Slovakia, but also to Germany, Hungary etc.

[6] Dačice, Jihlava, Olomouc are towns in Moravia, which is one of the two territories of Czech lands: Bohemia, Moravia (Čechy, Morava). In both these territories one language is spoken (with various local dialects), but due to historical developments Bohemia and Moravia have distinct and different folk cultures.

Then I was remembering my (people) at home and the words of my father, that he wanted to give to schools (he wanted me to study) and he was telling me, that I had to learn myself from books. I read everything that came to my hands. In the year 1948, it was already after the "soldier's bread" (military service), I came to Prague, and there I stayed. I worked as an agricultural worker (in the estates). For my good work I was given a letter (of recommendation) to be taken into the University (big school). Thus I started to go to the University in the year 1950. Politically I was prepared for that beforehand, I went to (I attended) the youth centers. I did voluntary work[7] and so on.

When I heard at the university the lectures of the professors, I told to myself, that I must give all my brain and all my power to be able to tell truth to the Roms, to tell them all, why Roms in previous times lived in misery (kept great sorrow), why they could not achieve anything (could not get anywhere), why they did not understand the gadžos and the gadžos did not understand the Roms. Why they had no good jobs and why their job was not a stable job (everyday's job).

I finished the University in 1955. I went to work. I worked here and there. I worked in the archives. I taught children—simply (shortly) I did everything. I was a worker too. In 1969 I moved to Brno[8] with my wife and children and here I am (live) till now. For four years I was working in the Union of Roms.

Why do I write in Romani ? So that the Roms may understand me. I think, that as long as Roms will be Roms, they will wish to talk Romani, to read and to write too. I want to write a clever book about Roms, such a book, that may be read among them for many years.

I would like to tell Roms in my songs, that there was a lot of beauty among Roms, it stays with them (even now) and it will remain with them wherever they will be. Probably every Rom knows what is nice for him and what not and he knows to express in Romani language probably everything.

The Rom literature can show to the gadžos, that Roms are a cultured people and that Rom culture can develop as other literatures.

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[7] After the Second World War the economy of Czechoslovakia was quite ruined. Thus a movement of voluntary work was organised. Specially young people, students, worked voluntarily for one month of their holidays on the so-called "buildsites of socialism".

[8] Brno is the capital of Moravian territory. Brno was the centre of the Union of Roms.

FRANTIŠEK DEMETER

Me ul'il'om andre chart'iko famelija. Hin man bišuefta berš. Beril'om avri paš e baba. Dži panč berš somas Prahate, pal'is miri famelija precirdl'a pre Slovensko, odoj somas dži dešujekh berš andro foros Svidnik. Phiravas odoj andre ukrajinsko škol dži šovto tr'ida. Pale avl'am Prahate, odoj jekhvar prepejl'om, bo na džanavas čechika. Dešuduje beršendar somas andro Dětsko domovos, bo e baba sas phuri, našt'i man buter l'ikerelas, o dad la delas pre ma ča frima love. Ke daj ko dad na phirav, o dad la daha na džível, les hin aver romn'i, la hin aver rom, sakones hin aver čhave. Sar man premukhle andal o Dětsko domovos, džívav korkoro. Dešupandže beršendar kerav but'i sar keribnaskero. Hin man štar čhave, kamav len lačhes avri te bararel. Andre mire bišuefta berša predžid'il'om but pharipena. Šunav man baro phuro the baro ternoro. Oda hi sa, so pal mande šaj pisinav.

Soske pisinav romanes? Vaš oda, kaj o Roma penge te jen hodno te pregenel peskere but'a, peskere romane vlastna but'a andal o romano šero the jilo.

Kamás le Romenge te phenel andro romane gil'a the paramisa, hoj amare romane gil'a hin šukar the barvale, hoj andre amare gil'a hin amare myšlenki, dukh, asaben the džívipen, andro paramisa hin but roman'i god'i the pheras, le gil'enca, le paramisenca pes del avri romano džívipen a kultúra.

Roman'i literatura šaj sikhaven le gadženge, hoj hine dost Roma, so džanen te pisinel avri bare šukaribnaha oda sa, so len hin andro jilo the andro šero. Pat'av, hoj sig avela koda d'ives, kana o gadže kamena te lemavel the del avri roman'i literatura, kaj šaj feder te prindžaren le Romen.

I was born in a blacksmith family. I am 27 years old. I grew up at my grandmother('s home). Till five years I was in Prague. Then my family moved to Slovakia. I was in the town Svídník till 11 years. I went there to a Ukrainian school[1] till the sixth class. Again I came back to Prague, there I fell through once, because I did not know Czech. From twelve years I was in the children's home[2], because my grandmother was old, she could not take care of me (lit. keep me) any longer, my father paid her (gave her) only little money on my (upbringing). I do not go either to (visit) my father, nor my mother, he has another wife, she has another husband, they both have other children. Since I was released from the children's home (lit. since they left me out) I live alone (on my own). From 15 years on I work as a worker. I have

[1] East Slovakia has a common border with the Ukraine Soviet Republic. A minority of Ukrainians live also in the Slovak borderland. They have their own Ukrainian schools.

[2] The children's home is an institution for children who have either lost their parents or for those whom their parents have given up. Also children from socially pathologic families are put in children's homes.

four children, I want to educate them well. In my 27 years I lived through lot of hardships. I feel myself (to be) very old and very young at the same time. That is all what I can write about myself.

Why do I write in Romani ? So that Roms can read their things, their own things (done) out of Rom head and Rom heart.

I would like to tell Roms in the Rom songs and tales, that our Rom songs are nice and rich, that in the songs there are our thoughts, our pain and our laughter and life, in the tales there is a lot of Rom brains (cleverness) and jokes, by the songs and tales our Rom life and culture is expressed.

Romani literature can show to gadžos (non-Roms), that there are enough of Roms, who can write with great beauty all that what is in their heart and in their head (thoughts). I believe that soon will come the day, when the gadže will be willing to print and publish our literature, so that they can know (get acquainted with) Roms better.

TERA FABIÁNOVÁ

Miro dživipen

Me ul'il'om dešupančto d'ives andro dešto čhon ezeros taj en'a šel tranda. Ul'il'om andro cikno gav, samas but čhavore. Mri daj sas Romn'i the mro dad. Avka bariľam upre sar Roma. But, but Roma odoj bešenas. Pre jekh sera. Kodoj ke amende o gadže na phirnas, čak angl'amare khera avenas, al'e andre na tromanas te avel maškar o Roma. Izolimen samas le gadženďar, ča andre amaro romano pero. Vakerahas ča romanes, ča te džahas andro lengero gav, ta dahas lengeri duma, le gadžengeri. Al'e te perlas tele e romn'i čhavoreha, ta ča romanes leske gil'avelas, romanes les sovl'arlas, romanes koškerlas, romanes marlas. Romn'i avresar del te pijel, avresar perel tele sar gadži. Sar perel tele, pherdo hine kodoj a joj vičinel, igen vičinel, kaj o hom la te litulinel. Amen sa čhajora odoj džahas—murša na, čhave tiž na—o džuvl'ija the amen tradenas het, al'e amen čhaja na šunahas, džahas odoj te dikhel. O dad le čhavoreskero pes garuvelas, bo sar a romn'i vičinelas, ta savore romn'ija les koškerenas: dikhes, so lake kerd'al ! Dikh, savi hin la bari dukh ! Al'e Romeskeri but'i hin te pratinel koda, so pal late ačhol. Miro dad tiž koda kerlas mira dake. O Rom pes ladžal, kerel oda, sar n'iko na dikhel. Al'e kerel oda, b'oda hin lengero so dujedženengero čhavoro. Miro rom oda imar na kerd'a, bo me avresar dživav, me gejl'om andre špital'a te lačhol.

Amen dživahas sar Roma. The akana, te som maškar o gadže, me man chal'uvav furt Romn'ake.

Pal'is phiravas andre škola; ča duj ti'idy man hin, bo avle o Němci a na denas le Romenge te phirel andre škola. Pal o mariben imar andre škola na phiravas. Dešupanč beršengeri somas. Gejl'om te kerel but'i. Odgejl'om kheral, bo samas butdžene, love

na sas. Odgejl'om maškar o gadže ke Praha. Al'e mange ča maškar o Roma sas mištes. Sar džanavas, hoj varekaj o Roma bešen, džavas odoj, pherdo Roma alačhovahas amen. Kerahas avka sar mitingi. Kodoj gil'avahas, bašavahas, khelahas romanes. A te kernas bon'a o Roma andro jekh foros, ta andal aver fora, andal aver gava o Roma le verdanenca, le čhavenca, savore pen odoj cirdenas, džanas sako. The koda, kas na vičinenas. Al'e jekh avres na čhivenas avri o Roma. Denas, so len sas. Ko anlas vareso, jekhetane thovnas, thovnas love ole čhavoreske, sako delas vareso. Ta hin pre bon'a ajso beng, ajso pherasutno manuš, phenel, hoj o čhavoro pro svetos nango avl'a, al'e nango našt'i phirel, hoj kampel leske te cinel rentici—akor sa denas lačhes. Denas podle toho, sar džal o love. Akana hin kursos andre koda berš the panč šel koruni. Me te džás bi adad'ives bon'ate, ta bi lidžás te chan, te pijen, rentici a mek duj šel koruni. Adad'ives kamen o Roma te sikhaven, hoj len lačhes hin, hoj imar nane kajse čore, bo darekana denas ča po korunici. A te perlas tele e romn'i a na sas len so te chal, ta e lavutica delas o Rom ko Čhindo pre simad'i. bo te merlas o čhavoro, na sas love les te paruven, tiž simad'i džalas. La dake mul'as čhavoro. Imar trin d'ives pro skamind pašl'olas, na sas amen love les te paruven. O dad naškerlas pro úr'ados, na denas les n'ič—anglo mariben sas kada mek. Avka le dades sas lačhi lavuta. Ta o dad thod'a pre simad'i, al'e na dine les dost love, vaš kola love so les dine, ča o rašaj avl'a avri. Ta o dad and'a ajsi krabica le margarinostar, andre thode ole čhavores, e daj leske sid'a gadora a avka les thode andro hrobocis. Šukar, thulo čhavoro sas, n'ič leske na sas, ča sas leske zapal plic. No mul'ahas, te ul'ahas doktoris. Al'e angomis o doktora n'avenas ko Roma. A sar e daj rovlas vaš o čhavoro, o rašaj phend'a lake: ma rov, Maryška, o del tutar il'a, o del tuke pale anla. A čačipen sas, aver berš la pale sas čhavoro. Pančen kavka tel e phuv thode.

O Roma kamenas le čhaven. N'igda o Rom peskere čhaven na mukhelas. Te ačhile efta čhave a merlas e daj, akor ola Roma sa maškar pende lenas ole čhavoren, an'i jekhes na denas andre ústava abo darekaj. Odoj penge ole arvasten upre bararnas maškar lende. Feder o Roma kajse čhaven l'ikerenas sar peskeren, phenenas: čororo, daj dad les nane-a denas len sa, so len sas.

No mišto, sar mange sas dešupanč berš, gejl'om Prahate te služinen. Le dadeha avl'om. O dad kerlas upro droma le Romenca a me gejl'om te služinen. Na džanavas te vakeren čechika, na džanavas n'ič te keren, bo somas roman'i čhajori. Savoro man sikhavenas ola raja, so paš lende služind'om. Na džanavas an'i o grati te moren, an'i o blaki, va phageravas. Bo kámende na sas n'ič khere, čore samas. No al'e polokores sikhl'il'om sa. Bešavas odoj paš lende, al'e tele man dikhenas. Čak mange phenenas "cigánko". Trindžen'a kodoj sovahas andro jekh vad'os—duje phure gadženca andro jekh vad'os sovavas, kaj kodoj morenas o grati sar the me. Oda sas ajsi sar kavarna. A kodoj me pratinavas, moravas grati. Tosarastar khatar o šov ori dži ko dešuduj ori rat'i. The

kurke, the sombatone, ča pond'elkone man sas volno. Me ola sa love so chudavas bičhavavas khere la dake.

Odoj ke kola gadže somas duj berš, pal'is gejl'om romn'ake. Šaj gejl'omas ke gadžeste—kernas pal mande gadže—al'e me lenge na pat'avas, daravas, kaj mange andro jakha na te čhivkeren, hoj som R'omn'i, a daravas, hoj mire čhave na ena an'i gadže an'i Roma. Na džanena, so ena. Na džanena ke kaste te cirden. Na kamavas vaš lenge pharo dživipen. Ta gejl'om romeste andro 1949 berš.

No pal'is, sar leha dživavas ? Avka sar Roma. Romen nane n'ič ča čhavore. Na sas man n'ič—ča per. Sa man ul'a čhavoro, na sas man kaj te džan, kher amen na sas, bešahas andre leskeri famelija, dešochtodžene sas odoj andro jekh kher. Panč berš kavka dživahas, pal'is chudl'am amaro kher. Gejl'om te roven, kerd'óm bengales pro Narodno vy'boris, akor amenge dine kher. Chudl'am cikno kheroro, cindo, sapano, o gadže kámende sas rikone, andre mande kerde o kominos, kaj našt'i te thovav jag. Čhavore mar man sas duj. Jekhvar mišto na tasl'il'am. Zakerde mange o kominkos, dine andre trasta, kaj te na mange džal o thuv avri, al'e pale mange mi avel. Amen zasut'am, o thuv avl'a pale andal o bov. Ušt'il'om opre bare khaseha, o čhavore imar sa lole sas khasabnastar. Pr'aver d'ives gejl'om ko šingune, andóm len. Gejle opre o šingune mek jekhe gadžeha, ande avri oda trast andal o kominos. "No dikhes, vašda našt'i tavehas. Akan pre tute zaležinel, so kereha, či ole gadžen deha ko sudos". A me daravas, ta na kerd'om n'ič, ča phend'om lenge, hoj len nane jilo.

Pal'is andro 1963 chudl'am šukar baro kher andre novostavba. Akana amenge mištes hin, sa odoj hin, ustr'edni topeni, tato pan'i sako d'ives, lednička, pračka amen hin, sa. Sa amen keras but'i. O rom miro paš o slugadža, me imar dešochto berš kerav sar jer'ábnička. Sa šaj cinas, televizoris amen hin, vysavačis, sa sar the le gadžen.

Soske pisinav romanes ? Vaš oda, hoj som Romn'i. Rado dikhav miri čhib. Roman'i čhib šukar, loki the phari, šund'ol sar pan'i kana čul'al, sar len kana chut'kerel, sar baro pan'i kana džal. Feder šaj sa phenav avri andre roman'i čhib. Sako Rom kamel peskeri čhib.

Kajso Rom te gend'ahas literatura roman'i andre peskeri čhib ta ul'ahas barikano ! Ajcik berša, ezera berša dživenas o Roma izolimen, a hjaba, peskeri čhib na našade. N'iko le Romen rado na dikhelas, sakó len ča tradelas het, tele len dikhenas—a o Roma na našade pengeri čhib, pengeri kultura. Kaj ča džaha, všadzi o Roma l'ikerna lengeri lačhi kultura, lengero romanipen. So hin šukar andre amari kultura ? Amare gil'a, amare paramisa, oda dakero kamiben... Oda hin aver sar maškar o gadže. E Romn'i peskere čhavores avresar lel andre angal'i. Avka peske lel le čhavores upro pašvaro, pro bokos les thovel, mek sar andre India, sar oda dikhl'om andre indicko filmi. Kavka tel e khak les lel roman'i romn'i, al'e gadži lel anglal. So hin andre roman'i kultura lačho, oda hin kajso romano jokhetanekeripen. Dikh, te džala Rom varekaj a alačhola Romeha, ta

dicki ke leste cirdela. Či barvalo, či čoro ela, dareso drom ke jekh avreste arakhna. Me pal mande korkori džanav. Somas maškar o gadže duj beršа na sas odoj žadno Rom. A ola gadže kamenas, kaj me te na phenav pal mande, hoj som Romn'i. Ladžanas vaše. A me jekhvar andal e blaka dikhl'om jekha phura Romn'a, kaj phirlas bute čhavordenca. Joj pre mande na prindžard'a, hoj som Romn'i, bo man na uravas kavka romanes. Al'e man o jilo furt pal late cirdlas. Sar man perdal late te dav angle ? O gadže man furt arakhenas, kaj laha te na vakerav. Al'e jekhvar denašl'om, "Romn'ije, hej ! The me som Romn'i!" A joj sas barikan'i, hoj mešukares urd'i—man ke late thod'om. A me—sar man sas volno—džavas ke lende, but čhavore sas odoj, a me—sar khere te ul'omas paš miri vlastno daj. A džanavas, hoj te pes mange choč so ačhola, či rat'i, či d'ivestar, na mukhena man o Roma andre bida. A jekhvar gejl'om khere, pro nadražis terd'uvás. Akan avle but Roma, so me len šoha na dikhl'om. Kavka terd'onas, tiž na prindžarde, hoj som Romn'i, abo šaj hoj prindžarde, al'e na tromanas te prevakerel manca, bo džuvl'i som. Ta me gejl'om ke lende a phend'om. "Me som Romn'i." "Jaj, tu sal Romn'i, akor av maškar amende !" Ta imar džahas jekhetane andro vlakos sar pribuzna. Pal soste vakerahas ? Šo sas darekaha. O gadže jekh avres avka na džanen, al'e amen džanas jekh avres andal pančto, dešto gav, ko kathar, kaskero čhavo, ta phenas: prindžares kole a kole Romes ? Koda Rom il'a koleskera čha, koleskeri čhaj—mira bibakero čhavo la il'a—no a pal'is pro agor prindžaras šaj, hoj durutne pribuzna sam. A pal'is, te man sdžav the naprindžarkutne Romenca, so len hin, oda mange den. Kames te chan ? Na sal bokhal'i ? A den man, so jekhfeder len hin. A me lenge tiž dav miro. A te man kamela vareko te phenel džungalo lav, varesavo, phenas, gadžo, ta savore paš mande ikerena. Ta oda hin amaro jekhetanekeripen romano.

A oda sa šaj o gadže sikhl'on amara literaturatar. Bo ča o Rom šaj pisinel pal Romeste, kajso Rom abo Romn'i, so ciknovarastar dikhelas, sar e daj lel peskere čhavores pre angal'i, roman'i angal'i, sar romanes phirel, romanes bešel, romanes vakerel. Pal amari kultura, amare zvyki, amaro jilo, amaro čačipen ča o Rom džanel te vakerel. A te o gadže oda sa prindžarena roman'a literaturatar, achal'ona, šoda Rom. Šaj pal'is amenge pat'ana. Šaj pal'is amen na dikhena tele.

MY LIFE

I was born on the 15th day in the tenth month of 1930. I was born in a small village, we were lot of children. My mother was Rom, my father too. We grew up like Roms. Many, many Roms lived there. On one side (aside). The gadžos did not come there to us, they came only in front of our houses, but they did not dare to come in (the colony) among Roms. We were isolated from the gadžos, we stayed only in our Rom colony. We were talking only Romani language, only when we went to their village, we spoke their language,

the language of gadžos. But when the woman was confined (with a child), she sang to (the child) only in Romani, she lulled him in Romani, she rebuked him in Romani way, she slapped him in Romani way. A Rom woman gives her baby to drink in another way, in another way she delivers than the gadži. When she is delivering, lots of (women) are there, and she cries, very much she cries for her husband to pity her. All of us girls went there—neither men, nor children—the women chased even us away, but we girls did not obey (listen), we went there to look. The father of that child was hiding himself, because as his wife screamed, all women abused him: you see, what you did to her ! Look, what pains she has ! But the work of the husband was to clean up, what was left there after her (delivery). My father did it also for my mother. The husband is ashamed, he does the cleaning when nobody can see him, but still he does it, because the child is his too (of both). My husband did not do it any more, because we live in a different way, I went to the hospital for my deliveries.

We lived like Roms. Even now, when I am among gadžos, I consider myself all the time to be a Rom woman.

Then I went to school, I have (attended) only two classes, because the Germans came and they did not let the Roms go to school. After the War I did not go to school any more. I was 15 years old. I went to work. I went away from home, as we were too many, there was no money. I went among gadžos to Prague. But I felt well only among Roms. As soon as I came to know, that Roms live there and there (somewhere), I went there, and we gathered lots and lots of Roms. We did something like meetings. There we sang, played, danced in Romani way. And when the Roms did (celebrated) baptism feast[1] in one town, Roms from other towns, other villages poured there with cars, with children, all were streaming there, everybody went there. Even that one, who was not invited. But Roms would not throw each other out. They presented what they had. Whoever brought something they put (the presents) all together, they gave money to that (newly born) child, everybody presented something. At the baptism feast there is such a devil, such a funny man and he says, how the child came to this world naked, but it cannot walk around naked, it is necessary to buy some baby's frock for him—and then everybody gives even more (presents). They were giving according to the money

[1] To baptize a child is one of the main duties of every Christian. At the occasion of baptism, usually a feast is held. Roms have taken over many religious habits of their social environment mainly to be better accepted by the dominant society. However, along with Christianity they maintain their various original beliefs and customs based on their creeds.

rate. The money rate in this year is even 500 Kčs[2]. If I went today to attend a baptism feast, I would bring along food (to eat), drinks (to drink), baby's frock and two hundred crowns on top. Today the Roms want to show, that they are well of, that they are no more so poor, because in old times they could not give more than one crown. And when the Rom woman was to be confined and they had no money, so the Rom pawned his violin to the Jew[3]. Or when some child died, and there was no money to bury him, they also had to pawn. Once my mother's child died. It was lying already three days on the table, but we had no money to bury him. The father ran to the (village) office, but they did not give him anything—that was still before the War. So, my father had a good violin. He pawned it, but they did not give him enough money, for that money which they gave him, only the priest was willing to come (only the priest came). So my father brought such a carton box margarine packing[4], they put the child in, my mother sewed a small dress for him, and that way they put him in a small grave. He was a nice, fat boy, he was healthy till he was taken by pneumonia. He would not have died, if the doctor had come. But in those days (previously) the doctors did not come to Roms. When my mother was weeping for that child, the priest told her: don't weep, Maryška, God took it from you, God will give you back. And it was true, next year she had again (another) child... Five of her children she put in earth that way.

The Roms loved their children. Never would a Rom leave his children. If seven children were left (whose) mother died, then the Roms divided those children among themselves, none of them would they give to an orphanage or elsewhere. There they brought up the orphans among them. The Roms treated such a child (kept such a child) even better than their own (children), they were saying: poor little one, he has no mother, no father—and they gave them all, what they had.

Well, when I was 15 years old, I went to Prague to do a maidservant's job. I came with my father. My father worked on the highway building

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[2] Five hundred crowns (Kčs=crown) is a very high amount of money—the average salary/wage being 1500-2000 Kčs. (official exchange rate is: 100 rupees=66 Kčs).

[3] In the pre-War Slovak society Jews formed a constituent social part of nearly every village (most of them were murdered during the War). Usually they were businessmen and shopkeepers. They also used to lend money or take pawns. Being also discriminated by the major society—though their social position was much better than that of the Roms—they often helped Roms by employing them as domestic servants, etc.

[4] Margarine was a sort of artificial fat, very cheap, which was used instead of butter, specially during the Second World War.

sites with other Roms and I went to serve. I did not know to talk Czech, I did not know to do anything, because I was a Rom girl. The masters, where I served, had to teach me everything. I did not know how to wash knives and forks, (how to wash) windows, I broke everything. It was because we did not have anything like that at home, we were poor. But slowly I learned everything. I lived there with them, but they looked down on me. They called me only 'gypsy'. We slept three women in one bed, I slept with two other old gadžo women, who were there to wash dishes like me. That was something like a coffeehouse. That (coffeehouse) I had to clean up and to wash dishes there. From six o'clock in the morning till twelve o'clock at night. (I worked) even on Sundays and Saturdays, only Mondays were my free off days. All money which I got I sent home to my mother.

I stayed two years there with those gadžos, then I got married. I could have married a gadžo—gadžos were running after me—but I did not believe them, I was afraid, they would throw me into my eyes that I am a Gypsy, and I was afraid, that my children will be neither gadžos nor Roms. They will not know, who they are. They will not know whose side to take (to whom to cling). I did not want, they should have a difficult (hard) life. So I got married in 1949.

And then, how did I live with him? As Roms. Roms have nothing but children. I had nothing—but (a big) abdomen. When I gave birth to the child, I had no place to go, we had no flat, we lived with his family, we were 18 people in one room. Five years we lived like that, then we got our own flat. I went to weep, to do big shout (devilship) at the National Committee[5] and so they gave us a flat. We got a small flat, wet, damp, the gadžo (neighbours) were very bad to us (like dogs), they stuffed my chimney, so that I could not do fire (heat). I had two children. Once we got nearly suffocated. They stuffed my chimney, they put some iron plate there, so that the smoke did not come out but back (to the room) it came. We fell asleep, the smoke came back from the stove. I got up with great cough, my children got red from coughing. Next day I went to the police, and brought them in. The policemen went up with one gadžo, they brought that piece of iron out of the chimney. "You see, that is why you could not cook. Now it depends on you, what you will do, if you wish to suit those gadžos at the court." But I was afraid, I did not

[5] National Committee, as a body of people's government, is competent to satisfy various social needs of the inhabitants. One of its departments, the flats department, is in charge of procuring flats for people who have none and have no financial possibility to buy a cooperatively built flat.

do anything, I only told them, they had no heart.

Then in 1963 we got a nice big flat in a newly built house. Now I am well off, there is everything there, central heating, running warm water every day, we have a fridge, a washing machine, everything. All of us are working. My husband is a military officer, I have been working for the past 18 years as a crane driver. We can buy everything, we have a TV set, a vacuum cleaner, all—like gadžos (all what the gadžos have).

Why do I write in Romani language? Because I am a Rom woman. I love my language. The Romani language is beautiful, light and heavy, it sounds as if water runs, as if a brook jumps, as if big water streams. I can express myself better in Romani language. Every Rom likes his language.

If a Rom could read Rom literature in his own language, he would be very proud! So many years, thousands of years have Roms been living in isolation and still they did not loose their language. Nobody liked Roms, everybody chased them away (persecuted them), they were looked down (derogated) – but Roms did not loose their language, their culture. Wherever you go, everywhere will Roms maintain (preserve) their good culture, their Romship. What is nice in our culture? Our songs, our tales, the mother's love... It is different than among the gadžos. The Rom woman takes her child in arms in a different way (than a gadži). She puts her child on her rib, she gets it seated on her hip – as she used to do it in India, as I saw it in Indian films. Rom woman takes it under arm, gadži takes it in front of her. What is good in our culture is our Rom unity. Look, if a Rom goes somewhere and he meets another Rom, he always will be attracted (drawn) to him. May he be rich or poor, they always will find some way to each other. I know it from my own experience. I lived among gadžos two years and there was no Rom there. Those gadžos did not want me to tell about myself I was a Rom girl. They were ashamed of it. And once I saw an old Rom woman out of the window, she walked there with many children. She did recognize, that I was a Rom woman, though I was not dressed in Rom manner. But my heart kept pulling (attracting) me to her. How to get myself recognized to her? The gadžos were watching me all the time not to talk to her. But once I ran away. "Romwoman, hay! I am a Romwoman too!" She was proud that I—nicely dressed—joined her. And I, whenever I had a day off, I went to (visit) them, there were lot of children there and I (felt) as if I were at home with my own mother. And I knew, that if something happens to me, may it be in daytime, may it be at night, the Roms will never let me in trouble. Once I went home, I was standing in the station hall. Now, many Roms came there, whom I had never seen before. They were standing, they too did not recognize that I was

a Rom woman, or perhaps they recognized it, but they did not dare to talk to me, because I was a woman. So I went to them and said: "I am a Rom woman." "Oh, you are a Rom woman, come with us then!" And we went together in the train as if we had been relatives. What did we talk about ? How it used to be before (in old days). The gadžos do not know each other, but we Roms know each other even if one is from the fifth, tenth village. (We know) who is from where, whose son (is he), and thus we say: do you know this and that Rom ? That Rom got married to the daughter of so and so, and that aunt that girl—she got married to the boy of my aunt—and then in the end we perhaps come to know, that we ourselves are distant relatives. And then, when I meet even Roms, whom I do not know at all, they give me everything, what they have. Do you want to eat ? Are you not hungry ? And they give me the best they have. And I give them too what I have (mine). And if somebody wants to tell me a bad word (ugly word, wants to abuse me), some, let us say, gadžo, all of them will take my side. And that is our Rom unity.

The gadžos can learn this from our literature. Only a Rom can write about Rom, such a Rom or Romwoman, who from her very childhood saw, how her mother took her children in arms, in Rom arms, how she walked in a Rom way, she sat in the Rom way, and talked Romani language. Only a Rom can talk about our culture, about our customs, about our heart, and about our truth. And if the gadžos will come to know all that from our literature, they will understand, who is Rom. Perhaps, they will believe us then. Perhaps they will not look down on us.

ANDREJ PEŠTA

Miro džívipen

Ul'ilom andre 25.11.1921, Torysky, okres Spišská Nová Ves pre Slovensko. Mir dad the daj ehas barvale[1]*, al'e sig amen omukhle. Ehas mange ochto barš, sar mul'as o dad a dešuduj berš, sar mul'as e daj. Ačhil'am efta čhave, duj phen'a a panč phrala. Než baril'am avri,ehas pharo džívipen. Andre škola phiravas, igen lačhes sikhl'uvavas, phird'om avri ochto tr'ídy. Somas slugadžis, absolvind'om šofersko the tankisticko kursos. Andro mariben somas andro Talijansko. Sar avl'om pale khere pal o mariben, ačhil'om romn'aha a gejl'om andro pohran'ičí*[2] *pre but'i. Ochto berš keravas andre papírna paš o stroji, pal'is ačhil'om automechanikoske. Sur thod'am jekhetane but love, ta gejl'am pale pre Slovensko Spišsko Nevejsiste*[3]*. Chudl'om lačhi but'i, somas strojno the stavebno zámečnikos. Tel o duj berša kerd'om zkuški a somas jekhfeder zámečnikos, kidle man avri predsedas ZV ROH. Andre 1958 berš terd'il'om andre KS. Phiravas pre politicko školení, min'd'ar pal ada man kidle avri bičhadeske MNV andre Spišská Nová ves. Bičhado*

keravas ochto berš. Pro okresis somas andre roman'i komisija[4]*. Ehas man ajci but'i, hoj man na has časos an'i vaš miri famelija. Ehas man trin muršora a duj čhajora. O jekhphureder sikhl'il'as avri paš mande strojno zamečnikos, the o jekhterneder, e čhaj sikhl'il'as avri sivun'ake, švadlenake, aver čhaj phirelas andre prümyslovo zemědělsko škola a maškaruno čhavo mange mul'a paš o slugadža. Igen rado genav the odborno literatura. Hin man duj ezera l'ilvara. Nevejsiste thod'om avri korkoro baro kher, vila, savore but'a pro kher kerd'om korkoro. Andre 1968 bikend'om o kher a savore amen avl'am Brnoste, kodoj cind'am nevo kher. Brnoste keravas miro r'emeslos, sar avl'as pal'is bari novina perdal ma, hoj pes zathod'as Romano jekhetaniben. Me baro rado somas, hoj amen le Romen hin vlastno jekhetaniben. Andro Svazos zathod'om peršo suboris,* Jagori, *kaj sikhavavas te gil'avel the te khelel le čhavoren. 120 čhave the čhaja odoj phirenas. Amari roman'i literatura din'am avri andro* Romano l'il, *rozgejl'as pes pal calo republika, savore Roma oda bara lošaha genenas. Me keravas andre redakcija. Sikhl'ilom t'iskarsko but'i the keravas fotografii. Štarto berš o Jekhetaniben pel'as a me mušind'om mange te rodel aver but'i. Kerav akana andre sběrné suroviny*[5]*... Hjaba hoj amen le Romen nane n'isavo l'il akana, me miri but'i na mukhav a na čhivav, al'e diader čhinava, choc ča pro papiris mire gil'a the paramisa.*

Romanes čhinav vašoda, kaj pes amari roman'i čhib te na bisterel, kaj pes te na našl'ol pal o svetos, kaj la o Roma lačhes te dźanen.

Andre mire gil'a kamav te phenel le Romenge, hoj the amen sam manuša, ča kampel amenge te sikhl'ol te džível nevones, kaj maškar amende the le gadžende te na jel rozd'ilis, ča kada, hoj amen sam kale.

The le gadžen ul'ahas bari chasna amara literaturatar, bo jon amen na prindžaren, na džanen amare citi, amaro vod'i, čak amaro temperamentos, ča koda, andre soste amen pale sam pal lende. Al'e kampelas bi lenge te šunel, so amare romane jila vakeren.

MY LIFE

I was born on 25.11.1921, Torysky, district Spišská Nová Ves in Slovakia. My parents (father and mother) were rich[1], but they left us soon. I was 8 years (old), when the father died and 12 years, when the mother died. We were left seven children: two sisters and five brothers. We had a difficult

[1] Even in the past some of the settled Roms were rich, though they were quite an exception. First of all the Rom town musicians were rich. Very often they gave regularly part of their earnings for the social welfare of the Rom community. The money was divided among the widows, old people, those who could not work any more, or among the poorest of families. The village Rom inhabitants had a very poor chance to get rich, because their work was rewarded by food, not by money. Thus they were not able to accumulate any money for livelihood in bad times, leave alone money for any sort of enterprising. However, few Roms became pig-dealers in one way or the other and they got relatively rich.

life before we grew up. I went to school, I learned very well, I finished (went out from) the 8th class. I was a soldier, I passed a driver's and tankist's course. I was in Italy during the War. When I came home after the War, I got married and I went to the Borderland[2] for work. I was working eight years in a paper factory, on machines, then I became a motor mechanic. When we saved a lot of money, we went back to Slovakia to Spišská Nová Ves[3]. I got a good work, I was a machine and building locksmith. In two years I passed exams and I was the best locksmith. I was elected as the chairman of the all-factory trade union committee. In the year 1958 I joined the communist party. I attended political training, immediately after that I was elected as deputy to the local National Committee in Spišská Nová Ves. I was doing the (function of) deputy for eight years. I was in the district commission for problems of Gypsies[4]. I was so busy (I had so much work), that I had not time even for my own family. I had three boys and two girls. The oldest learned the lock-smithy from me, the youngest too, the girl is (learned) a skilled dressmaker, the other girl studied in the high agricultural school and the middle aged boy died in military service. I love to read, even scientific literature. I have two thousand books. I Spišská Nová Ves I built a very big house (a villa), all by myself, I did myself all the work in (building) the house. In 1968 I sold the house, all of us came to Brno, there I bought a new house. In Brno I was doing my profession, when I came to know a great news (when a great news came upon me), that the Union of Roms was founded. I was very glad, that we Roms have our own Union. I founded the first chorus in the Union, *Jagori* (Fire), where I was teaching the children to sing and to dance. 120 children attended it. We were publishing

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[2] *Pohraničí* 'borderland' is a term denoting only a specific borderland of Czech lands, the Borderland neighbouring with Germany, where before the War a very numerous German minority lived. Most of the Germans were Nazis. After the War those who were Nazis, were evacuated to Germany. Many houses and flats remained free. Roms from the poor parts of East Slovakia were attracted to the 'Borderland' first of all because these parts were highly industrial, secondly they got flats of the evacuated Germans.

[3] Spišská Nová Ves is the Slovak official name of the town. Roms usually use their own name but only for indirect cases (locative, ablative) Nevejsiste=in Spišská Nová Ves; Nevejsistar=from S.N.V., which are the most frequent cases used in connection with local names (I live in—locative; I come from—ablative). The author uses alternatively the official name and the colloquial Romani form.

[4] Commissions for the problems of Gypsy inhabitants are established in those towns and districts, where there are many Roms. The commissions are a body of local, district or regional National Committees. In the district, where the author Andre Pešta was born, with the district town Spišská Nová Ves the number of Roms in relation to the total population of that district is 8.1% according to the 1970 census.

our Rom literature in Romano l'il, it spread over the whole Republic, all Roms were reading it with great pleasure. I was working in the editing centre. I learned the printer's job and I was also doing (responsible for) photography. In the fourth year (of its existence) the Union ceased to exist (fell) and I had to look for another job. I work in a salvage centre[5] now. Even if Roms have no newspapers now, I will not stop and leave my work, I will go on writing —if just on mere paper—my verses and stories.

I write in Romani, so that our Romani language may not be forgotten, so that it may not be lost away from the world, so that the Roms may know it well.

I want to tell to Roms in my songs, that even we are people, just we have to learn to live in a new way, so that there may be no difference between us and the gadžos, only that (difference), that we are dark.

Even the gadžos can derive great profit from our literature, because they do not know us, they do not know our feelings, our soul, (they know) only our hot-temper, (they know) only that, in what we are backward behind them. They should hear what our Rom hearts speak.

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[5] Salvage centres are centres, where scrap-iron, waste paper, rags etc. is collected from private persons and it is passed to respective factories, where it is used as raw material.

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The authors introduce themselves (Romani-English, with explanatory notes):

58 Bartoloměj Daniel
63 František Demeter
64 Tera Fabiánová
72 Andrej Pešta

LEON N. HURVITZ, VANCOUVER (CANADA)

PATH TO SALVATION IN THE JÑANA-PRASTHĀNA

This study of one tiny portion of the *Abhidharma-jñānaprasthāna* is part of a larger study in which I am engaged, one that attempts to give a clearer understanding of the Sino-Indian confrontation of the early fifth century where the whole question of Buddhist salvation is concerned.

In the first decade of the fifth century China was visited by Kumārajīva, probably the greatest missionary-translator in the whole history of Chinese Buddhism. He retranslated, among other things, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, also produced an encyclopaedic commentary to it, the *Ta chih tu lun*. A copy of the latter was sent to Mount Lu (in what is now Chekiang Province), the home of Hui-yüan, a Buddhist monk and semi-recluse who was without a doubt the most distinguished member of the Chinese saṃgha at that time. To Hui-yüan the new commentary was a revelation. For one thing, as a young man he had been steeped in the Chinese mystical tradition, which, with the advent of Buddhism to China, wished to see in the Indian religion scarcely more than a reiteration in different words of what China's mystics had been saying themselves. Then, late in the fourth century there arrived in China a small but colossally erudite band af Sarvāstivāda spokesmen, who. with the aide of Chinese assistants, set about translating Abhidharma with a zeal that to this very day, fully a millennium-and-a-half after the event, amazes the reader (and, it must be noted, what survives is only a fraction of what was done). The Chinese mystic comes face to face with Abhidharma scholasticism, the effect of which must have been shattering, to state the matter cautiously. Hardly has this happened when China plays host in turn to Kumārajīva, a convert from Sarvāstivāda to Madhymaka, as intolerant of the former as only a convert can be of his own former faith. Thus Hui-yüan the Chinese mystic, schooled in prajñāpāramitā with Chinese distortions, comes into contact with Ābhidharmikas who say that prajñāpāramitā 'is not the word of the Buddha', only to be told shortly thereafter by a renegade Ābhidharmika that Abhidharma too is not the word of the Buddha. Picture the effect this must have had on a seventy-year-old man!

The over-all aim of this study is twofold, with respect both to the Indians and to the Chinese. To begin with the latter, my wish is to deduce the notion of Buddhist salvation entertained by Chinese who had only the Prajñāpāramitā and plenty of room for their mystical imaginations, then to see what

effect was produced by the translation of a truly prodigious quantity of Abhidharma, finally to observe the countereffect of the Madhyamaka translations initiated by Kumārajīva. As to the Indians, specifically Kumārajīva himself, the aim is to try to understand his early Sarvāstivāda view of salvation, then to see how this was modified by his conversion to Madhyamaka. The final step of this study will be to study closely the correspondence that transpired between the two men about 406, insofar as it involves this question. In line with this, I am looking carefully at the treatment of salvation in all Abhidharma works translated into Chinese before 406. One such work was translated twice, in 382 and 391, respectively, the former by a missionary named Kumārabuddhi under the title *Ssu A-han-mu ch'ao chieh* (going back to *Caturāgamasaṃgrahabhāṣya* ?), the latter by a very well-known missionary, Saṃghadeva, under the title *San fa tu lun* (going back to *Dharmaskandhatrayopadeśa* ?). The portion dealing with savation I have translated with annotation in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Volume 87, Number 4, pp. 432-486.

What I have done in this paper is somewhat different. I have taken the passage on salvation from an early Chinese translation of the *Jñānaprasthāna*, done by the aforementioned Saṃghadeva and his Chinese assistant, CHU Fo-uien, one one of the very few in the whole history of the Chinese saṃgha who ever mastered Sanskrit. The passage extends from p. 894 to p. 900 in volume 26 of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon. The last page or so of the text, however, I considered important enough to discontinue the summary and to undertake a sentence-for-sentence translation.

By coincidence, Hui-yüan, who corresponded with Kumārajīva, though the two never met, was disciple to Tao-an, the first real internal reformer of the Chinese saṃgha. Tao-an was a typical Chinese of his time in that he knew no language but his own. Yet, to the extent that this was possible in his total ignorance of the original texts, he was a zealot in the cause of orthodoxy. This affected not only the vinaya° and sūtrapiṭakas but also the abhidharmapiṭaka, with which he became acquainted in the very evening of his life. Where the first-named of these three is concerned, Tao-an was most exercised about the most careful possible transmission of the monastic code, since he felt that the road to Enlightenment was not possible to any except those who lived by the strictest discipline. Again, in spite of his ignorance of any language other than Chinese, Tao-an was very concerned about accurate translation, and even formulated a theory of translation from Sanskrit to Chinese. Most important of all in this regard, he sponsored, as did his disciple Hui-yüan after him, every possible missionary-translator he could find.

By yet another coincidence, Tao-an's concluding activities were carried out in the city of Ch'ang-an (the present Sian), then the capital of a North Chinese kingdom named Ch'in, ruled by non-Chinese. He was brought to Ch'ang-an as a prisoner of war, then elevated to honors and placed in charge of a bureau for the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. Kumārajīva was also, in a sense, brought to Ch'ang-an as a captive of war, but the details are different. For, while Hsiang-yang (Tao-an's residence) and Ku-tsang (Kumārajīva's) were both taken in campaigns of conquest, Tao-an was taken by surprise, while Kumārajīva was rescued from a situation by no means to his liking. He too, however, once in Ch'ang-an, was placed in charge of a State-supported translation project. Both men had one other thing in common, viz., incomplete control over the translation process. For Tao-an knew no language but Chinese, while Kumārajīva, who commanded the Chinese spoken language, could almost certainly not read it. Thus Tao·an had to assume that the missionary-translator's oral translation of the original was correct, while Kumārajīva had to assume that his Chinese amanuenses were giving an accurate written rendition of what he was telling them orally.

However, I digress. Here, for what it is worth, is as much as the *Jñānaprasthāna*, as translated into Chinese in 383, has to say about the path to salvation. At the time this appeared, of the three principals, both Tao-an and Hui-yüan would have been in a position to consult it, since Kumārajīva could not read Chinese and had turned his back on Abhidharma, and was, in any case, in virtual imprisonment at Ku-tsang.

The standard text of the *Jñānaprasthāna* is the translation made by Hsüan-tsang, another of that tiny band of Chinese monks with a mastery of Sanskrit. As a control over the version on which my own translation is based, I checked it against Hsüan-tsang's version sentence by sentence. The notes contain allusions to Hsüan-tsang's version.

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For basic Abhidharma knowledge, a possible source for Tao-an—an almost definite source in the case of Hui-yüan—was the (above-mentioned) *A-p'i-t'an pa ch'ien-tu lun*, a translation of the *Jñānaprasthāna* made by Saṃghadeva and CHU Fo-nien in 383. I shall here attempt to restate what it has to say on our subject, T26.894b-900b. The restatement cannot be particularly brief, since the original statement is itself essentially an outline. I begin by identifying the cardinal categories, naming them first in Sanskrit, where that is known, then giving the Chinese equivalents of our translators.

1. *Shih hsiang*:[1] a) *wu ch'ang hsiang* (*anityasaṃjñā*), b) *wu ch'ang k'u hsiang* (*anityaduḥkhasaṃjñā*), c) *k'u wu wo hsiang* (*duḥkhānātmakasaṃjñā*), d) *pu ching hsiang* (*aśubhasaṃjñā*), e) *kuan shih hsiang*[2] (*bhojanaparīkṣaṇā*), f) *i ch'i shih chien pu k'o lo hsiang* (*sarvalokāsukhasaṃjñā*), g) *ssu hsiang* (*maraṇasaṃjñā*), h) *tuan hsiang* (*ucchedasaṃjñā*), i) *wu yü hsiang* (*niṣkāmasaṃjñā*), j) *chin hsiang* (*nirodhasaṃjñā*).
2. *Catvāri dhyānāni* (*ssu ch'an*). These have no names, only numbers.
3. *Catvāry apramāṇāni* (*ssu teng*): *maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā.*
4. *Catvāry ārūpyāṇi* (*ssu wu se ting*): a) *ākāśānantyāyatana*, b) *vijñānānantyāyatana*, c) *ākiṃcanyāyatana*, d) *naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana.*
5. *Aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ* (*pa chieh t'o*).
6. *Aṣṭāv abhibhvāyatanāni* (*pa ch'u ju*). These are as follows:
   a) adhyātmaṃ rūpasaṃjñī bahirdhā rūpāṇi paśyati parīttāni suvarṇadurvarṇāni/ tāni khalu rūpāṇy abhibhūya jānāmy abhibhūya paśyāmi evaṃsaṃjñī bhavati/ idaṃ prathamam abhibhvāyatanam.
   b) Identical with a), with *apramāṇāni* instead of *parīttāni.*
   c) Identical with a), with *arūpasaṃjñī* for *rūpasaṃjñī.*
   d) Identical with b), with the same reservation.
   e) The first sentence reads as follows after *paśyati* :
   nīlāni nīlavarṇāni nīlanidarśanāni nīlanirbhāsāni tadyathā umakāpuṣpaṃ saṃpannaṃ vā vārāṇaseyaṃ vastraṃ nīlaṃ nīlavarṇaṃ nīlanidarśanaṃ nīlanirbhāsam.
   f) For the *nīla* and *umakā* of e), substitute *pīta* and *karṇikāra,* respectively.
   g) For the same, substitute *lohita* and *bandhūka*, respectively.
   h) For *nīla* substitute *avadāta*; for *umakāpuṣpaṃ, uśanastārakā.*
7. *Daśa kṛtsnāyatanāni* (*shih i ch'i ju*): a) pṛthivī, b) ap, c) tejas, d) vāyu, e) nīla, f) pīta, g) lohita, h) avadāta, i) ākāśānantyāyatana, j) vijñānānantyāyatana.
8. *Aṣṭau jñānāni* (*pa chih*): a) dharmajñāna, b) anvaya°, c) paracitta°, d) lokasaṃvṛti°, e) duḥkha°, f) sumudaya°, g) nirodha°, h) mārga°.
9. *Trayaḥ samādhayaḥ* (*san san-mei*): a) śūnyasamādhi, b) ānimittasamādhi, c) apraṇihitasamādhi.

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[1] I have been unable to find this category either in the *Abhidharmakośa* or in the *Visuddhimagga.* I presume it stands for *daśa saṃjñāḥ,* and the Sanskrit I give in brackets is no less conjectural.

[2] Hsüan-tsang has *yen shih hsiang*, suggesting a possible *bhojananirvedasaṃjñā.*

10. *Ch'i jen* (*sapta pudgalāḥ ?*): a) śraddhānusārin, b) dharmānusārin, c) śraddhādhimukta, d) dṛṣṭiprāpta, e) kāyasākṣin, f) prajñāvimukta, g) ubhayatobhāgavimukta.
11. *San ting* (*san teng chih, tisraḥ samāpattayaḥ*): a) wei (āsvādanā), b) śuddhaka c) anāsrava.
12. *Liu shih shen* (*ṣaḍ vijñānaskandhāḥ*): a) cakṣurvijñānaskandha, b) śrotra°, c) ghrāṇa°, d) jihvā°, e) kāya°, f) mano°.
13. *Liu ch'u shen* (*ṣaṭ saṃsparśaskandhāḥ*): a) cakṣuḥsaṃsparśaskandha, b) śrotra°, c) ghrāṇa°, d) jihvā°, e) kāya°, f) manaḥ°.
14. *Liu shou shen* (*ṣaḍ vedanāskandhāḥ*): a) cakṣurvedanāskandha, b) śrotra°, c) ghrāṇa°, d) jihvā°, e) kāya°, f) mano°.
15. *Liu hsiang shen* (*ṣaṭ saṃjñāskandhāḥ*): a) cakṣuḥsaṃjñāskandha, b) śrotra°, c) ghrāṇa°, d) jihvā°, e) kāya°, f) manaḥ°.
16. *Liu ssu shen* (*ṣaṣ cetanāskandhāḥ*): a) rūpacetanāskandha, b) śabda°, c) gandha°, d) rasa°, e) spraṣṭavya°, f) dharma°.
17. *Liu ai shen* (*ṣaṭ tṛṣṇāskandhāḥ*): a) rūpatṛṣṇāskandha, b) śrotra°, c) ghrāṇa°, d) jihvā°, e) kāya°, f) manas° (Conjectural).
18. *Aṣṭau lokadharmāḥ*: a) lābha, b) alābha, c) yaśas, d) ayaśas, e) nindā, f) praśaṃsā, g) sukha, h) duḥkha.
19. *Chieh t'o pien ch'u (vimokṣasadṛśāni kṛtsnāyatanāni?)*: If I am not mistaken, these are the first eight of the ten *kṛtsnāyatanas*. I base this on a Chinese tradition, presumably of Indian origin, which culminated in Hsüan-tsang. At Kośa VIII.36, for '...alobho 'ṣṭau dhyāne 'ntye gocaraḥ punaḥ/kāmo...', Hsüan-tsang has *pa ju ching chieh t'o/* '(The first) eight (of the ten *kṛtsnāyatanas*) are like pure deliverance (*śubho vimokṣaḥ*, the third of the Eight Vimokṣas).' Hsüan-tsang's version of the *bhāṣya* to this passage reads *shih chung ch'ien pa ju ching chieh t'o wei pa tzu hsing chieh shih wu t'an*, which LVP renders only partially with 'Les huit premiers sont, de leur nature, la racine de bien *alobha*...', while Hsüan-tsang, if fully translated, seems to be saying, 'Of the ten, the first eight are like pure deliverance. This means that they are by nature all free of greed.'

The *Jñānaprasthāna* lists several of the abovementioned categories, specifies certain members of them, and says that they do three things: (1) they 'embrace' (*she* in our text), i.e., apply to, or include, certain areas; (2) they 'correspond to' (*hsiang ying*) certain ones; and (3) they 'achieve' (*ch'eng chiu*) certain ones. If one may venture a guess, these three Chinese verbs presumably correspond to *saṃgṛhṇāti*, *saṃyujyate*, and *sādhayati*, respectively. In the diagram below, the

subject is on the left, its respective object on the right. First is *she* (*saṃgṛhṇāti ?*).

Ten saṃjñās
  abcghij — Four dhyānas: all; Four ārūpyas: all; Eight vimokṣas: abcd
  de — Four dhyānas: all; Eight vimokṣas: ab
  f — Four dhyānas: cd

Four dhyānas
  a — Self; Four apramāṇas: all; Eight vimokṣas: ab; Eight abhibhvāyatanas: abcd; Eight jñānas: all; Three samādhis: all
  b — (Same as a)
  c — Self; Four apraṃāṇas: abc; Eight jñānas: all; Three samādhis: all
  d — Self; Four apramāṇas: abc

Eight vimokṣas
  c

Eight abhibhvāyatanas
  efgh

Ten kṛtsnāyatanas
  abcdefgh

Eight jñānas
  all

Three samādhis
  all

Four apramāṇas
  a d

Four ārūpyas
  a — Self; Eight vimokṣas: d; Ten kṛtsnāyatanas: i; Eight jñānas: abcdef; Three samādhis: all
  b — Self; Eight vimokṣas: e; Ten kṛtsnāyatanas: j; Eight vimokṣas: abcdef; Three samādhis: all
  c — Self; Eight vimokṣas: f; Eight jñānas:

Four apramāṇas
  abc d

abcdef
Three samādhis
all
d Self
Eight vimokṣas
gh
Eight jñānas
a
Eight vimokṣas
d Ten kṛtsnāyatanas
i
Eight jñānas
abcdef
Three samādhis
all
e Ten kṛtsnāyatanas
j
Eight jñānas
abcdef
Three samādhis
all
f Eight jñānas
abcdef
Three samādhis
all
g Eight jñānas
a
Eight abhibhv-
āyatanas
all Self
Ten kṛtsnāyatanas
all Self

Eight jñānas
a
b
c
d
e
f
g
h
Three samādhis
all
Next is *hsian ying* (*saṃyujyate?*)
Ten saṃjñās
abcghij

Eight jñānas
acefgh
bcefgh
abcdh
cd
abe
abf
abg
abch[3]
Three samādhis
all
Four dhyānas
all
Four ārūpyas
all
Eight vimokṣas
abcd
Eight jñānas
abcd
Three samādhis
c
de Four dhyānas
all
Eight vimokṣas
ab
Eight jñānas
c
f Four dhyānas
cd
Eight jñānas

[3] This is admittedly conjectural. Kyokuga 26.4 indicates by number the *saṃgraha* relationship among the *jñānas*, but the *Kośa* lists ten, viz., these eight in addition to *kṣayajñāna* and *anutpādajñāna*. *Vyākhyā* 614 ff. specifies the inter-relationships by name. If the two *jñānas* just mentioned are stricken from the list, the *Kośa* and the *Jñānaprasthāna* agree as to number and, presumably, in respect to identity as well.

c

Four dhyānas
ab
Four apramāṇas
all
Eight vimokṣas
ab
Eight abhibhvāyatanas
abcd
Eight jñānas
all
Three samādhis
all
c
Four apramāṇas
abc
Eight jñānas
all
Three samādhis
all
d
Four apramāṇas
abc
Eight vimokṣas
c
Eight abhibhvāyatanas
efgh
Ten kṛtsnāyatanas
abcdefgh
Eight jñānas
all
Three samādhis
all

Four apramāṇas
all
Self
Eight jñānas
c

Four ārūpyas
a
Eight vimokṣas
d
Ten kṛtsnāyatanas

i
Eight jñānas
abcdef
(cdefg ?)
Three samādhis
all
b
Eight vimokṣas
e
Ten kṛtsnāyatanas
j
Eight jñānas
abcdef
Three samādhis
all
c
Eight vimokṣas
f
Eight jñānas
abcdef
Three samādhis
all
d
Eight vimokṣas
g
Eight jñānas
c

Eight vimokṣas
abc
Eight jñānas
c
d
Ten kṛtsnāyatanas
i
Eight jñānas
acdefgh
Three samādhis
all
e
Ten kṛtsnāyatanas
j
Eight jñānas
abcdef
Three samādhis

	all		c
f	Eight jñānas	Ten kṛtsnāyatanas	
	abcdef	all	Eight jñānas
	Three samādhis	Eight jñānas	
	all	ab	Three samādhis
g	Eight jñānas		all
	c	d	ab (?)
Eight abhibhvāyatanas		efg	a (?)
all	Eight jñānas	h	a (?)

Lastly, *ch'eng chiu (sādhayati ?)*.

A person may achieve the first *dhyāna* and from there perfect it or any of the other three. He may, from the same vantage point, achieve none of the four *apramāṇas* (by being reborn in the Ārūpyadhātu), or three (by being reborn in Śubhakṛtsna or Bṛhatphala), or four (by being reborn in the Kāmadhātu or anywhere up to and including the Brahmapāriṣadya world).

The same person will achieve none of the four Ārūpyas if he does not rid himself of his attachment to the Rūpadhātu. If he does, he will achieve the first Ārūpya. If he can overcome his attachment to that, he will attain the second, and so on up to and including the fourth.

That person will achieve none of the eight Vimokṣas if he is reborn an Apramāṇaśubha and remains attached to that status. He will attain the first of them if, reborn an Apramāṇaśubha, he craves the status of a Bṛhatphala. He will attain the second under any of the following conditions : (a) if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika or Ābhāsvara, he craves the status of a Śubhakṛtsna; (b) if, born as a Śubhakṛtsna or as a Bṛhatphala, he craves the first Ārūpya; (c) if, born in the first Ārūpya, he craves the second; (d) if, born in the second, he clings to it. He will attain the third Vimokṣa under any of the following conditions : (a) if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika, he craves the status of a Bṛhatphala; (b) if, born as an Ābhāsvara, he craves the status of a Śubhakṛtsna or of a Bṛhatphala; (c) if, born as a Śubhakṛtsna or as a Bṛhatphala, he craves the second Ārūpya; (d) if, born in the first Ārūpya, he craves the third; (e) if, born anywhere in the Ārūpyadhātu, he clings to it. He will achieve the fourth Vimokṣa under any of the following conditions: (a) if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika or Śubhakṛtsna, he craves the first Ārūpya; (b) if, born as a Śubhakṛtsna or as a Bṛhatphala, he craves the third Ārūpya; (c) if, born anywhere in the Ārūpya-

dhātu, he cannot attain *nirodhasamāpatti.* He will attain the fifth Vimokṣa under any of the following conditions : (a) if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika or Ābhāsvara, he craves the second Ārūpya; (b) if, born as a Śubhakṛtsna or Bṛhatphala, he cannot attain *nirodhasamāpatti*; (c) if, born in the Naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana, he does attain *nirodhasamāpatti.* He will attain the sixth Vimokṣa under either of the following conditions : (a) if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika or Ābhāsvara, he craves the third Ārūpya; (b) if, born as a Śubhakṛtsna or Bṛhatphala, he achieves *nirodhasamāpatti.* He will achieve the seventh Vimokṣa if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika or Ābhāsvara, he does not attain *nirodhasamāpatti.* He will attain the eighth Vimokṣa if, so born, he does attain *nirodhasamāpatti.*

The same person will achieve none of the eight Abhibhvāyatanas if, born an Ābhāsvara, he clings to that status, or if born in the Ārūpyadhātu. He will achieve any of the first four if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika or an Ābhāsvara, he craves the status of a Śubhakṛtsna or if, born as a Śubhakṛtsna, he craves the status of a Bṛhatphala. He will attain the eighth if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika or an Ābhāsvara, he rids himself of the craving for the status of a Śubhakṛtsna.

This person will achieve none of the ten Kṛtsnāyatanas if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika or as an Ābhāsvara, he craves the status of a Śubhakṛtsna; or if, born as a Śubhakṛtsna, he clings to that status; or, again, if born in the third or fourth Ārūpya. He will achieve the first Kṛtsnāyatana if, born in the first Ārūpya, he clings to it, or if born in the second Ārūpya. He will achieve either the first or the second Kṛtsnāyatana if, born in the first Ārūpya, he rids himself of the craving for it. He will achieve any of the first eight if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika, Ābhāsvara, or Śubhakṛtsna, he craves the status of a Bṛhatphala, or if, born a Bṛhatphala, he clings to that status. He may achieve any of the first nine if, born in the Kāmadhātu or Rūpadhātu, he craves the first Ārūpya. He may achieve any of the Kṛtsnāyatanas if under these same conditions he rids himself of that craving.

The same man will, whether as an ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*) or as one who has achieved *duḥkhadharmakṣānti,* attain either of the first two of the eight Jñānas. If he achieves *duḥkhadharmajñāna* or *duḥkhadharmānvyakṣānti,* he may attain any of the first four. If he achieves *duḥkhadharmānvayajñāna* or *samudayadharmakṣānti,* he may attain any of the first five. If he achieves *samudayadharmajñāna, samudayadharmānvayakṣānti, samudayadharmānvayajñāna,* or *nirodhadharmakṣānti,* he may attain any of the first six. If he achieves *nirodhadharmajñāna, nirodhadharmānvayakṣānti, nirodhadharmānvayajñāna,* or *mārgadharmakṣānti,* he may attain any of

the first seven. Finally, if he achieves *mārgadharmajñāna*, *mārgadharmānvayakṣānti*, or *mārgadharmānvayajñāna*, he may attain any of the eight jñānas.

The same person will, as an ordinary pṛthagjana, achieve the first or second samādhi if he has not completed the attainment of *nirodhadharmakṣānti*, or any of the three if he has.

Next is a description of the respective attainment by the seven Pudgalas of the three Samāpattis in the four Dhyāna stages. The śraddhānusārin and dharmānusārin will have no *āsvādanāsamāpatti* when their attachment to the Rūpadhātu has been purged. On the first Dhyāna stage they crave the status of Bṛhatphala, on the second that of Śubhakṛtsna, on the third that of Ābhāsvara, and on the fourth that of Brahmakāyika.[4] They will not attain *śuddhakasamāpatti* at all as long as they are attached to the Kāmadhātu. They attain to it on the first Dhyāna stage when they crave the status of Brahmakāyikas, on the second when they crave that of Ābhāsvaras, on the third when they crave that of Śubhakṛtsnas, on the fourth when this last-named craving has been purged. They will not attain *anāsravasamāpatti* through *anāgamyadhyāna*, but will attain it for each of the four Dhyāna stages by means of the *sāmantakadhyāna* appropriate to it.[5]

What was said above about the *śraddhānusārin* and the *dharmānusārin* with respect to *āsvādanāsamāpatti* applies equally to the *śraddhāvimukta* and the *dṛṣṭiprāpta*. As to *śuddhakasamāpatti*, these two do not attain it if born in the Kāmadhātu they cling to the same or if born in the Ārūpyadhātu. They attain it on the first Dhyāna stage if, born in the Kāmadhātu, they crave the status of a Brahmakāyika; if, born as Brahmakāyika, Ābhāsvara, or Śubhakṛtsna, they cling to these respective states; or if born as Bṛhatphala. They attain it on the second Dhyāna stage if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as Brahmakāyika, they crave the status of the Ābhāsvara; if, born as Ābhāsvara, they crave the status of the Śubhakṛtsna; or if, born as Śubhakṛtsna, their clinging to that state is purged. They attain it on the third Dhyāna stage if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as Brahmakāyika, they crave the status of a Śubhakṛtsna or if, born as Śubhakṛtsna, their clinging to that state is purged. They attain it on the 4th Dhyāna stage if, born in the Kāmadhātu or as Brahmakāyika, their craving for the status of Śubhakṛtsna is purged. They do not attain *anāsravasamāpatti* as long as

[4] I am not certain I have understood this correctly. The same, as will be seen below, applies to the *śraddhāvimukta* and *dṛṣṭiprāpta* as well.

[5] Preliminary to each Dhyāna is another, called *sāmantakadhyāna*. However, in the tradition culminating in the *Kośa*, at least, *anāgamyadhyāna* is another name for the first *sāmantakadhyāna*.

they cling to the Kāmadhātu. They attain it on the first Dhyāna level if they crave the status of a Brahmakāyika; on the second if they crave that of an Ābhāsvara; on the third if they crave that of a Śubhakṛtsna; and on the fourth if that craving is purged.

The *kāyasākṣin*, *prajñāvimukta*, and *ubhayatobhāgavimukta* attain *anāsravasamāpatti* unconditionally and do not attain *āsvādanāsamāpatti* at all. As for *śuddhakasamāpatti*, the *kāyasākṣin* and the *ubhayatobhāgavimukta* do not attain it on the fourth Ārūpya, while the *prajñāvimukta* does not attain it in the Ārūpyadhātu at all. All three attain it on the first Dhyāna stage if born as Bṛhatphala, on the second if born as Śubhakṛtsna, on the third if born as Ābhāsvara, and on the fourth if born in the Kāmadhātu or as Brahmakāyika.

The *śraddhānusārin* and *dharmānusārin* attain *āsvādanāsamāpatti* in the first Ārūpya if their craving for the third is purged, on the second if their craving for it is purged, on the third if their craving for the first is purged, and on the fourth if it is not. They do not attain *śuddhakasamāpatti* as long as they cling to the Rūpadhātu. They attain it in any of the first three Ārūpyas as long as they cling to that respective Ārūpya; on the fourth once their clinging to the third has been purged. *Anāsravasamāpatti* they do not attain at all.

The *śraddhāvimukta* and *dṛṣṭiprāpta* attain *āsvādanāsamāpatti* in the first Ārūpya when their craving for the third has been purged, in the second when it has not yet been purged, in the third when they still crave the second, and in the fourth when they still crave the first. They do not attain *śuddhakasamāpatti* if they are born in the Kāmadhātu and crave the Rūpadhātu or are born in the latter and cling to it. They attain it for the first Ārūpya stage if they are born beneath it and crave it; if, born in any of the first three Ārūpyas, they cling to that respective one; or if born in the fourth Ārūpya. They attain it for the second Ārūpya if, born in the Kāmadhātu or Rūpadhātu, or in the first Ārūpya, they crave the second; if, born in the second, they cling to it or crave the third; or if, born in the third, they cling to it. They attain it for the third Ārūpya if, born in the Kāmadhatu or Rūpadhātu or in the first Ārūpya, they crave the third or if, born in the second, their craving for the third is purged. They attain it for the fourth Ārūpya if, born in the Kāmadhātu or Rūpadhātu or in the first Ārūpya, their craving for the third is purged. They do not attain *anāsravasamāpatti* as long as they cling to the Rūpadhātu. They attain it in the first or second Ārūpya as long as they cling to that respective one, in the third once their clinging to the second is purged.

The *kāyasākṣin* attains *āsvādanāsamāpatti* in the first Ārūpya but not above it. He attains *śuddhakasamāpatti* for the first Ārūpya when born in the fourth,

for the fourth when born in Kāmadhātu or Rūpadhātu.[6]

Neither the *prajñāvimukta* nor the *ubhayatobhāgavimukta* attains *āsvādanāsamāpatti*, while the attainment by both of *anāsravasamāpatti* is unconditional. As to *śuddhakasamāpatti*, the *prajñāvimukta* attains it for the first Ārūpya if born in the fourth, for the second if born in the third, for the third if born in the second, and for the fourth if born in the first or in Rūpadhātu or Kāmadhātu. The *ubhayatobhāgavimukta* attains it for the first Ārūpya if born in the fourth, for the fourth if born in Rūpadhātu or Kāmadhātu.

One whose clinging to the Kāmadhātu is not yet purged may attain *āsvādanāsamāpatti* to a certain degree, but neither of the other two. A *pṛthagjana* born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika, but who has purged himself of any craving for the Rūpadhātu, will achieve *śuddhakasamāpatti* alone. An *ārya*[7] born in the Ārūpyadhātu will achieve *anāsravasamāpatti* alone. An *ārya*[7] born in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika, but whose craving for the Rūpadhātu has been purged, will achieve *śuddhakasamāpatti* alone. An *ārya* born in the Rūpadhātu will achieve the other two alone. A *pṛthagjana* reborn in the Ārūpyadhātu will not achieve any of the three *samāpattis*. No one can achieve *āsvādanā°* and *śuddhaka°* without at the same time achieving *anāsrava°*, nor can anyone achieve *āsvādanā°* and *anāsrava°* without at the same time achieving *śuddhakasamāpatti*. Lastly, no one can achieve all three *samāpattis* together.[8]

Some *āsvādanā°*, but neither of the other two *samāpattis*, is gained by (a) a person who has purged his craving for the Rūpadhātu and whose attachment to the Kāmadhātu has slackened and (b) one who has died in the Ārūpyadhātu, to be reborn in the Kāmadhātu. *Śuddhaka°* alone can be gained by a *pṛthagjana* who, having attained the third Dhyāna, has purged himself of clinging to it. *Anāsrava°* alone is gained by one who attains *arhattva* on the fourth Dhyāna stage. Both *śuddhaka°* and *anāsravasamāpatti* are gained by an *ārya* who, having reached the third Dhyāna stage, purges himself of clinging to it.

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[6] It seems to make no sense, but can be construed in no other way. A similar observation may be made about the *prajñāvimukta* and the *ubhayatobhāgavimukta*.

[7] I take this to mean any of the seven Pudgalas, q.v. sup. Cf. LVP VI.273: 'D'une manière genérale, les Āryas sont au nombre de sept:...' The text then proceeds to enumerate the seven Pudgalas.

[8] 'Attain' and 'achieve' both render *ch'eng chiu*, which almost certainly goes back to an original *sādhayati*. 'Gains', which appears just below, renders *te*, which almost as certainly goes back to an original *prāpnoti*.

A *pṛthagjana* who, having reached the third Dhyāna stage, purges himself of clinging to it, and whose attachment to the Kāmadhātu has at the same time been slackened, can rid himself of *śuddhakasamāpatti* but not of the other two. An *ārya* can under the same conditions rid himself of both *śuddhaka*° and *anāsrava*°, but not of *āsvādanāsamāpatti*. No one can rid himself of *āsvādanā*° alone, while retaining the other two *samāpattis*. Even if recession, rather than rejection, of the *samāpattis* is meant, the same applies.

One who has not purged himself of his clinging to the Rūpadhātu will achieve *āsvādanā*°, but it alone. One who attains *arhattva* in the Kāmadhātu or Rūpadhātu, or in the first Ārūpya, will achieve the other two, but not *āsvādanā*°. One who gains *arhattva*, and whose attachments to Kāmadhātu and Rūpadhātu slacken, will gain *āsvādanā*° alone. A *pṛthagjana* who, having reached the third Ārūpya, purges himself of clinging to it, gains *śuddhaka*° alone. A person on the point of reaching *arhattva* gains *anāsrava*° alone. An *ārya* who, having reached the third Ārūpya, purges himself of clinging to it gains *śuddhaka*° and *anāsrava*°, but not *āsvādanāsamāpatti*.

A *pṛthagjana* who, having attained the third Ārūpya, purges himself of clinging to it, and whose attachment to the Kāmadhātu has slackened, gets rid of *śuddhaka*°, but not of the other two. An *ārya* under the same conditions gets rid of *śuddhaka*° and *anāsrava*,° but not of *āsvādanāsamāpatti*. No one can rid himself of *āsvādanāsamāpatti* while retaining the other two. What has just been said for rejection of the *samāpattis* may be said with equal force about their recession.

A person whose craving for the Rūpadhātu has been purged, and whose attachment to the Kāmadhātu has slackened, or who dies in the Ārūpyadhātu and is reborn in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika, will gain *āsvādanāsamāpatti* suddenly and get rid of it gradually. One whose craving for the third Dhyāna stage has been purged, and whose attachment to the Kāmadhātu has at the same time slackened, or who dies in the Kāmadhātu or as a Brahmakāyika and is reborn in the Ārūpyadhātu, gains *śuddhaka*° gradually and gets rid of it gradually as well. One who on the fourth Dhyāna stage is on the point of achieving *arhattva* gains *anāsravasamāpatti* suddenly. An *ārya* on the third Dhyāna stage who purges himself of clinging to that stage, and whose attachment to the Kāmadhātu slackens, gains *anāsrava*° gradually and gets rid of it suddenly. An arhant whose attachment to Kāma° and Rūpadhātu slackens gains *āsvādanāsamāpatti* suddenly and gets rid of it gradually. A person who purges himself of clinging to the third Ārūpya, and whose attachment to Kāma° and Rūpadhātu slackens, acquires śuddhaka° gradually and rejects it suddenly. One who

on the same stage is on the point of achieving *arhattva* gains *anāsravasamāpatti* suddenly. An *ārya* who in the second Ārūpya purges himself of clinging to it, and whose attachments to Kāma° and Rūpadhātu slacken, acquires *anāsravasamāpatti* gradually and gets rid of it suddenly.

There are, among anāgāmins, five specific classes, culminating in the status of Akaniṣṭha.[9] These five do not embrace all anāgāmins, for they do not include the *dṛṣṭadharmaparinirvāyin*[10] or the anāgāmin who goes to the Ārūpyadhātu. The five are (a) antarāparinirvāyin, (b) upapadya°, (c) sābhisaṃskāraparinirvāyin, (d) anabhisaṃskāra°, (e) ūrdhvasrotas. The gradation, however, does not imply superiority or inferiority. That anāgāmin is the best who severs his kleśas most effectively, whatever his stage.

Question: Do all *śaikṣas* study for the purpose of gaining advantages not hitherto gained ?

Answer: There are some *śaikṣas* who have this purpose, yet who never learn, viz., those who never get beyond the status of *śaikṣa*. There are persons who have this purpose, yet are not *śaikṣas*, viz., arhants and *pṛthagjanas*. Again, there are *śaikṣas* of this type who do learn, viz., those who seek a higher status. Finally, there are non-*śaikṣas* of this very type who do not learn, viz., arhants and *pṛthagjanas* who are content to remain what they are.[11]

Question: Who are these non-*aśaikṣas* whose purpose is not the gain of

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[9] Though the text does not specifically say so, the implication is that of a one-for-one correspondence between the five anāgāmins, to be named below, and the fourth through eight stages of the fourth Dhyāna, viz., Avṛha, Atapas, Sudṛśa, Sudarśana, and Akaniṣṭha, respectively.

[10] Cf. LVP II.284, n.3: '...c'est-à-dire "qui se trouve dans le Nirvāṇa avec restes"...' This is based on the *Vyākhyā*. Cf. ibid. 221: '*dṛṣṭadharmanirvāṇaprāpta* iti/ sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇastha ity arthaḥ/'.

[11] I have no idea what this really means, but the text can be construed in no other sense. Hsüan-tsang's version, which is considerably less verbose, says the same thing. The latter is followed by a similar exchange regarding the *aśaikṣa*. Again, there are four possibilities: (a) There are *aśaikṣas* who study for the above purpose and do learn, viz., arhants who seek to elevate themselves. (b) There are those whose study is not for this purpose and who do learn, viz., *śaikṣas* and *pṛthagjanas* who remain in their present status; they are not *aśaikṣas*. (c) There are *aśaikṣas* who do not study for this purpose, viz., arhants content to remain where they are. (d) There are non-*aśaikṣas* who do study for this purpose, viz., *śaikṣas* and *pṛthagjanas* who seek to elevate themselves. Our text has only (d).

advantages not hitherto gained and who do not fail to learn ?

Answer: These are *śaikṣas* and *pṛthagjanas* who seek to elevate themselves.

Question:[12] What is meant by 'with the stream' (*anukūla?*) ?

Answer: By 'going with the stream' is meant the act of taking the several births,[13] destinies,[14] existences,[15] congenital types,[16] and transmigrations[17] as types,[18] entrances,[19] bases,[20] roadways,[21] and pathways.[22]

Question: What is meant by 'against the stream' (*pratikūla?*) ?

Answer: By 'going against the stream' is meant the act of taking the extinction of the said several births, etc., in the same way.

Question: What is the meaning of 'real abode'?[23]

Answer: When birth and the like are extinct, but not in the same sense

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[12] I am far from certain of the equivalences given in the following exchange, since the *Kośa* was of almost no help, the *Visuddhimagga* of none whatever.

[13] Both our version and that of Hsüan-tsang have *chu sheng*, representing a presumable *janmāni.*

[14] Our version has *ch'ü* (*k'ü*), while Hsüan-tsang has *ch'ü* (*ts'ü*), both representing a presumable *gati.*

[15] Both versions have *yu*, going back to *bhava ?*

[16] Our version has *so sheng*, while Hsüan-tsang has *chung lei*, both presumably representing *jāti.* Cf. Kyokuga 1.15b:, on which *Vyākhyā* 45 comments as follows: '*svasyā jāteh|* kim/ ākarā iti prakṛtaṃ/' *Svasyā jāteḥ* clearly corresponds to *tzu chung lei.*

[17] Our version has *so chü*, while Hsüan-tsang has *sheng ssu*, one of the standard equivalents for *saṃsāra.*

[18] Our version has *chung*, while Hsüan-tsang has *chih*, representing *aṅga*?

[19] Both versions have *men*, going back to *dvāra* ?

[20] Our version has *yüan*, while Hsüan-tsang has *shih.* The same original underlying both is almost impossible to conjecture. May one venture *ālambana* ?

[21] Both versions have *tao.* A highway seems to be meant.

[22] Both versions have *chi hsiang.* Since I can find no *locus classicus* for this word, I presume it to have its surface meaning, 'the direction in which the footprints point', i.e., a footpath.

[23] This renders *shih chu*, for which Hsüan-tsang has *tzu chu*, 'proper abode', going back to a presumable *svasthāna.* The original of *shih chu* I will not venture to guess.

as above,[24] he takes this absence in the same way.

Question: Are those who dwell in real abodes all arhants ?[25]

Answer: Just so. Arhants all dwell in their real abodes.

Question: Are there any dwellers in real abodes who are not arhants ?

Answer: There are anāgāmins (who fit this description). Further, the World-Honored One has said: 'If one can extinguish the five defilements, one's learning shall be tantamount to dharmas without outflows. When the mind acquires the faculty of concentration at will, that is the real abode. This (person) is called the "dweller in the real abode.'[26]

Question:[27] Do all those who return on their tracks reach the yonder shore ?

Answer: Just so. Those who return on their tracks all reach the yonder shore.

Question: Are there any who reach the yonder shore who do not return

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[24] Our text has *pi fei ju tz'u chu sheng chin...*,while Hsüan-tsang has *fei yü chu sheng nai chih chu sheng ssu wei chih nai chih wei chi hsiang*, with no mention of *chin* at all. This leads me to suspect that, while the second exchange is dealing with the extinction (*nirodha* ?) of what already exists, the third is dealing with absence (*abhāva ?*) from the very outset, and that the *fei ju tz'u* of our version is a clumsy attempt to express this idea.

[25] Hsüan-tsang says: 'Do all arhants dwell in their proper abodes, or are all who dwell in their proper abodes arhants ?'

[26] Hsüan-tsang's answer to this question is so different that it deserves to be given in full. Answer: Arhants are all in their proper abode, but there are persons in their proper abode who are not arhants, by which are meant Non-returners, as the World-Honored One has said:

Forever they have cut off the five agonies;
Their learning is fully equal to the dharma of intractability;
They have acquired the faculty of concentration at will.
These men are called dwellers in their proper abode.

The five 'defilements' or 'agonies', i.e., the five kleśas, are *satkāyadṛṣṭi*, *śīlavrataparāmarśa*, *vicikitsā*, *kāmacchanda*, and *vyāpāda*. Cf. LVP V.84.

[27] I do not really understand the meaning of this exchange. 'Return on their tracks' renders *huan chi*, for which Hsüan-tsang has *te chi chin*, while 'reach the yonder shore' renders *tao pi an*, for which Hsüan-tsang has *te chi chi*. Since neither of Hsüan-tsang's equivalents is to be found in the *Kośa*, and since they differ so sharply from the terms used in our own text, no reconstruction is possible, hence there is no means of consulting an Indian source.

on their tracks?

Answer: Those from whom the five inferior fetters (*avarabhāgīyasaṃyojanas*)[28] have been purged without a trace.[29]

Question: What must one achieve[30] to be a bodhisattva ?

Answer: One must achieve retribution-bearing action (*vipākakarman*) without experiencing surfeit.[31]

Question: What is meant by 'bodhisattva'?

Answer: *Vipākakarman.*

Question: Further, the World-Honored One has said, 'You, Maitreya, shall in the distant future be named *Maitreyas tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ.*' What knowledge (*chih, jñāna*) is this?

Answer: It is knowledge of cause (*yin chih, hetujñāna ?*) and knowledge of the path (*tao chih, mārgajñāna, pratipaj jñāna?*).[32]

Question: What things do these knowledges set forth ?

Answer: *Vipākakarman* has to do with *hetujñāna.* It is the faculties without

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[28] I.e,, the five kleśas just mentioned.

[29] Hsüan-tsang adds, among other things, that such a person is an anāgāmin.

[30] I am not certain of this, but I can make no other sense of *ch'i,* which is the word found in Hsüan-tsang's version as well.

[31] 'Achieve' still represents *ch'i. Vipākakarman* is here represented by *hsiang pao hsing,* while Hsüan-tsang has *i shu yeh,* thus leaving no doubt about the equivalence. The word occurs once in the *Kośa,* cf. Kyokuga 18.6a, but with no explanation. LVP IV.220 renders it 'actes comportant rétribution', again with no elaboration. 'Without experiencing surfeit' renders *wu yen,* for which Hsüan-tsang has *tseng chang,* usually equivalent to *vardhayati.* I suspect the meaning is 'limitless retribution', equivalent to the Christian 'superabundant merit of the saints'. In other words, to be a bodhisattva one must perform acts of such merit that due retribution is simply not possible.

[32] I can only take these two at face value. *Hetujñāna,* which I have not found anywhere, I presume to mean the knowledge of how cause leads to effect, in this case the Buddha-destiny of Maitreya. The latter I presume to mean a detailed knowledge of the stages by which this effect is reached. In fact, *pratipajjñāna* is more likely than *mārgajñāna,* since Chapter 21 of the Visuddhimagga, entitled *paṭipadāñāṇadassanavisuddhiniddesa,* deals with this very sort of thing.

outflows (*chu wu lou ken, anāsravendriyāṇi ?*),[33] strengths (*li, balāni*),[34] varieties of enlightened intuition and of the Path (*chüeh tao chung, bodher mārgasya cāṅgāni*),[35]

[33] This may refer to one of two groups: a) A group of three, the last three of the twenty-two *indriyas* (for a complete list, cf. LVP I.101), viz., the faculty of knowledge (1) future (*anājñātamājñāsyāmīndriya*), (2) present (*ājñendriya*), and (3) past (*ājñātāvīndriya*), or b)a group of five immediately preceding a), viz., (1) faith (*śraddhendriya*, 'foi'), (2) energy (*vīryendriya*, 'énergie'), (3) mindfulness (*smṛtīndriya*, 'mémoire'), (4) concentration (*samādhīndriya*, 'recueillement'), and (5) wisdom (*prajñendriya*, 'discernement').

[34] For these, cf. LVP VII.69 ff.: 1) *sthānāsthānajñānabala*, 'la force qui consiste dans la connaissance de ce qui est possible et impossible; 2) *karmavipāka*°, '1. f. q. c. d. l. c. de la rétribution des actes'; 3) *dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpatti*°, 'la force de la connaissance des *dhyānas*, *vimokṣas*, *samādhis* et *samāpattis*; 4) *indriyaparāpara*°, '1. f. d. l. c. du degré des facultés morales des êtres'; 5) *nānādhimukti*°, '... des diverses aspirations des êtres'; 6) *nānādhātu*°, '... des diverses dispositions acquises des êtres'; 7) *sarvatragāminīpratipaj*°, '... des chemins qui mènent aux diverses destinées'; 8) *pūrvanivāsa*°, '... des anciennes résidences'; 9) *cyutyupapāda*°, '... de la mort et de la renaissance des êtres'; 10) *āsravakṣaya*°, '... de la destruction des "vices".'

[35] This refers to two sets of categories. The former of these is that of the Thirty-Seven Limb of Enlightenment (*saptatriṃśad bodhipakṣikā dharmāḥ*), which, in turn, is further divided into seven sub-groups, viz.:

a. Four objects of mindfulness (*catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*): 1) *kāya* (body), 2) *vedanā* (sensation), 3) *citta* (thought), and 4) *dharma*. Cf. *Kośa* II.15, *Vyākhyā* 599.

b. Four right efforts (*catvāri samyakpradhānāni*): They are nowhere specified in the *Kośa*, but they are well known as the determined effort 1) to prevent future evil, 2) to suppress present evil, 3) to bring on future good, and 4) to enhance present good. Cf. Vyākhyā 599.

c. Four supernatural powers (*catvāra ṛddhipādāḥ*): 1) *chandasamādhiprahāṇasaṃskārasamanvāgata ṛddhipādaḥ*, the power endowed with the forces of the concentration and exertion of the will; 2) *vīrya*°, t. p. e. w. t. f. o. t. c. a. e. o. effort; 3) *citta*°, ...thought; 4) *mīmāṃsā*°, ...discursive reasoning. Cf. *ibid.*

d. Five faculties (*pañcendriyāṇi*): see n. 2 above.

e. Five strengths (*pañca balāni*): The realization of d. Cf. *Vyākhyā* 599.

f. Seven limbs of enlightenment (*sapta bodhyaṅgāni*): 1) *smṛtisaṃbodhyaṅga*, mindfulness; 2) *dharmapravicaya*°, the faculty for distinguishing favorable dharmas from unfavorable ones; 3) *vīrya*°, exertion; 4) *prīti*°, amity; 5) *praśrabdhi*°, serenity; 6) *samādhi*°, concentration; 7) *upekṣā*°, indifference to what happens to oneself.

and the acquisition of *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi* that have to do with *pratipaj jñāna.*

Question: When it is said that the 'noble disciple masters the Doctrine in this very life (*hsien fa*, a literal translation of *dṛṣṭe dharme*), puts an end to death and birth, establishes Brahman-conduct (*fan hsing, brahmacaryā*), and accomplishes whatever he has to do, coming to know the existence of name and form for what they really are', what knowledge is this ?

Answer: *Pratipaj jñāna.*

Question: What things does this knowledge set forth ?

Answer: Faculties without outflows, strengths, varieties of enlightened intuition and of the Path, and the acquisition of an extinction of outflows (*te chin lou, āsravakṣayaprāpti ?*) — these are called *pratipaj jñāna.*

Question: What is 'knowledge according to wish' (*yüan chih, praṇidhijñāna*) ?

Answer: If an arhant, wishing to understand various matters,[36] forms a vow and, having done so, enters the fourth Dhyāna, that of the Peak (*ting, prāntakoṭi*), where this and that *samādhi* arise, their meanings all known to him, this is called *praṇidhijñāna.*

Question: Is *praṇidhijñāna* to be called good or neutral ?

Answer: *Praṇidhijñāna* is sometimes good, sometimes neutral.[37]

Cf. *ibid.*

g. The noble eightfold path (*āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgaḥ*): 1) *samyagdṛṣṭi*, right view; 2) *samyaksaṃkalpa*, right intention; 3) *samyagvāc*, right speech; 4) *samyakkarmānta*, right deeds; 5) *samyagājīva*, right way of life; 6) *samyagvyāyāma*, right exertion; 7) *samyaksmṛti*, right mindfulness; 8) *samyaksamādhi*, right concentration. Cf. *ibid.*

The latter is g., considered as a separate list.

[36] This phrase renders *chu yü chieh i*, where the *chu* and the *chieh* have surely been transposed. Hsüan-tsang has *sui yü chih i*, whose meaning is self-evident. In view of the latter, it is possible that my emendation is mistaken, and that instead the *chu* of our version is a copyist's error for some other character. May it represent *nānārthān jijñāsuḥ* ?

[37] In the *Kośa, praṇidhijñāna* is one of the qualities a Buddha possesses in common with a *pṛthagjana*. Cf. LVP VII.88: ...le Praṇidhijñāna, "savoir résultant de résolution", est, de sa nature, savoir d'ordre mondain; ...il a pour point d'appui le quatrième *dhyāna*, il se produit dans la série d'un Inébranlable, il est médité par un être de destinée humaine. Mais, à la différence de l'Araṇā (qui ne porte que sur les passions du domaine du Kāmadhātu, futures, ayant un objet réel, v. p. 87), il porte sur tous les *dharmas* ...(89)...Celui qui veut pro-

Question: What is meant by 'other track'?[38]

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duire le Praṇidhijñāna commence par former une résolution...tendant à la connaissance d'un certain objet; il entre dans le quatrième *dhyāna prāntakoṭika...*: tel est l'exercice préparatoire...Aussitôt sorti du recueillement, il produit...une connaissance exacte en conformité avec sa résolution et dont le domaine varie suivant la force du recueillement.

[38] 'Other track' renders *t'a chi*, meaningless on the face of it. Hsüan-tsang has *wu cheng hsing*, which clearly renders *araṇāvihāra*. Our text, unhappily, does not contribute to the clarification of this obscure term. A study which is reported to shed great light on it is, unfortunately, not available, viz., Max Walleser, *Die Streitlosigkeit des Subhūti* (in Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917). There is attested in the Ṛgveda an adjective *araṇa*, meaning 'foreign, distant'. This, I suspect, is what is meant by *t'a*. Thus *chi* must represent *vihāra*; although it is not a usual equivalent for the latter, 'conduct' or 'pattern of conduct' is a well-known secondary meaning of this Chinese word.

Although only of tangential bearing, Hsüan-tsang's *wu cheng hsing* means, of course, 'strifeless conduct', which is what *araṇāvihāra* clearly meant to India's Buddhists by his time. Cf. LVP VII.86: ...En ce qui concerne l'Araṇā, [c'est-à-dire "le pouvoir d'empêcher la naissance de la passion d'autrui"].—Les Arhats savent que la souffrance des êtres est produite par leurs passions (*kleśa*); ils savent qu'ils sont eux-mêmes le meilleur des champs de mérite (*puṇyakṣetra,...*); ils craignent qu'autrui ne produise à leur endroit des passions [qui lui seraient particulièrement novices]; ils (87) réalisent donc un savoir (*jñāna*) des telle nature qu'autrui ne produira pas à leur endroit attachement sensuel, haine, etc. (*rāga, dveṣa, moha*, etc.). Ce *saṃskāra*—ce savoir—met un terme, chez les êtres, a ce *raṇa*—querelle, bataille, cause de souillure et tourment—qu'est la passion (*kleśa*): il reçoit donc le nom d'Araṇā...

Cf. also *Vyākhyā* 651: *na kasya-cit tad-ālambano rāga utpadyate dveṣo māno veti* [qu'autrui ne produira pas à leur endroit attachement sensuel, haine, etc.]. ten' ātmano darśan'ādiparihārāt. yathā-yathā ca tenābhisamitaṃ bhavaty araṇā-samādher abhyutthitenāsya māṃ dṛṣṭvā rāga utpatsyate asya dveṣaḥ asya māna asyāprasāda utpatsyata iti. tathā-tathā vyutthito 'pi tasmāt samādher anuceṣṭate [emending *anuveṣṭate* on the basis of Tib. *rjes su mthun par byed*]. para-citta-rakṣaṇopāya-viśeṣe tu tasyāraṇā-samādher utpatti-mātra-sāmarthyād eva pareṣāṃ kleśo notpadyata ity artho gṛhyate. *raṇayatîti* kleśayatîty arthaḥ. 'There arises on the part of no one lust, hatred, or pride with him as its object.'

Answer: All arhants, when acting internally, discriminate well, but do not completely do so externally; this is called 'skillful discrimination when acting internally'.[39]

Question: In the expression 'other track', what is the meaning of 'other'?

Answer: 'Other' means 'free of defilement'.[40]

This is because he has cast aside all views,etc.,concerning self. For, just as,having arisen from *araṇāsamādhi*, he grasps the idea, 'Thanks to the sight of me, lust on this person's part will be produced, or hatred, or pride, or ill will,' just so, even when having arisen from that *samādhi*, does he act in accordance therewith. But such is the nature of his special skill in protecting the thoughts of others that, thanks to his ability merely to produce *araṇāsamādhi*, there is no emergence of defilements in others: this is the sense of it. By *raṇayati* is meant 'defiles'. Just below, as will be seen, our text glosses *t'a* 'other', with *wu kou* 'absence of defilement'.

[39] The original is somewhat obscure, for which Hsüan-tsang has the following: 'When all arhants have mastered the inner, they have still not mastered the outer. When they master the outer as well, it is called "strifeless conduct".

[40] The remainder of this exchange concerns characteristics of some of the Buddha's disciples, which seem to have no relevance to our problem. Since, on the other hand, they may in fact have a relevance that escapes me, I summarize them herein:

Of the wisest, Hetumānava is true and guileless, Bāhiya Dārucīriya bends his thoughts toward harmony.

Cullapanthaka bases his intuitive observations on moments of thought Mahāpanthaka on moments of dharma. Hence the former turns his thought toward good; the latter, his notions. (For this last, both versions have *hsiang*, which must represent an original *saṃjñā*.)

Śāriputra takes his stand for the most part in *arthapratisaṃvid*, Mahākauṣṭhila in all four *pratisaṃvids*.

Mahākāśyapa is an ascetic with few desires, while Vakkula has few desires and no attachments. For example, the former, when his begging bowl has been filled, eats everything without discriminating, while the latter eats only the coarser foods and leaves the finer. Yet another difference between the two is noted, one that I do not fully understand. Our version says the following: Mahākāśyapa, being a man of broad knowledge and superior qualities, receives gifts of food, clothing, and the like, and performs *dhūta* acts in connection therewith (?). Vakkula, on the other hand, being a fellow of slight knowledge and

Question: The World-Honored One has said that complaceny with regard to dharma means complacency with regard to vinaya, and *vice versa*. What does this mean ?[41]

Answer: The Noble Eightfold Path is called *dharma*. The *vinaya*[42] which removes lust (*yin*, Hs.: *t'an*, i.e., *rāga*), anger (*i*, Hs.: *ch'en*. i.e., *dveṣa*, prop. 'hatred'), and folly (*chih*, *moha*, more prop. 'delusion') is called *vinaya*. If that Eightfold Path is not cultivated or enhanced, that is lust, anger, and folly, and the *vinaya* does not realize (the dharma ?). Once the *vinaya* is realized, the Noble Eightfold Path is neither cultivated nor enhanced.[43] It is in this sense that complacency with regard to dharma means complacency with regard to *vinaya*. It

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inferior qualities, neither receives the gifts nor performs the *dhūta* acts, which is the easier way (?). Hsüan-tsang says the following: Mahākāśyapa, being a man as described above, has no difficulty in receiving when he has not received the *dhūtaguṇas*, for even then he can accept the alms. Vakkula, whose qualities are known to us from the above description, has difficulty in receiving alms, but he can perform the *dhūtaguṇas* even after having first received them, which is not hard to do (?).

Mahānāman learned how to go about annihilating the five *nīvaraṇas* (viz., *kāmacchanda*, *vyāpāda*, *auddhatyakaukṛtya*, *styānamiddha*, and *vicikitsā*, cf. *Vyākhyā* 497). This act, which is learned by all srotaāpannas and sakṛdāgāmins, consists of four gradual acts, viz., annihilation (or extinction, *mieh*, Hsüan-tsang: *tuan*, 'cutting off, severance'), separation of self (*li*), obstruction (*chang*, Hs.: *ju*, 'suppression'), and turning one's back (*pei*).

[41] 'Complacency' renders *chih tsu*, lit., 'sense of satisfaction'...Hsüan-tsang has *she*, lit. 'rejection'. A gloss to the latter version says that the word stands for *san-tu-sha*, ancient pronunciation approximately *san-do-ša*. While I cannot find Skt. *saṃdoṣa*, I do find P. *sandosa*, 'pollution, defilement'. Defilement through negligence seems to be the meaning here.

[42] Our text consistently transcribes *vinaya* as *p'i-ni*. In this particular case Hsüan-tsang has no analogue, but frequently he has *p'i-nai-yeh*, which represents the same thing, frequently *lü i*, which is his equivalent for *saṃvara*. That certainly seems to be the meaning here. It is a case of confused identity, for which I am unable to account.

[43] Does not realize renders *pu tso cheng* in our version, both that and *pu neng tso cheng* in that of Hsüan-tsang. The *tso* and the *neng* certainly seem to rule out a passive. The presumed original is therefore (*vinayo dharmaṃ*) *na sākṣātkaroti*, or words to that effect.

is in this sense, too, that the reverse is true.[44]

Question: Further, the World-Honored One speaks of *dharma* and of that which, 'following *dharma*, faces it'. What is *dharma*? What is that which, 'following *dharma*, faces it'?[45]

Answer: *Nirvāṇa* is called *dharma* while the Noble Eightfold Path is called *anudharma*. Further, discipline-release[46] is called *dharma*, while the *vinaya* of discipline-release[47] is called *anudharma*. Yet again, body discipline and mouth discipline are called *dharma*, while equal hold[48] is called *anudharma*.

Question: What is the '*dharma*-wheel'?

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[44] The *Kośa* says, in effect, the same. Cf. LVP IV.99: 'Quand la Bonne Loi disparaît, tout acte ecclésiastique devient impossible, et par conséquent aussi toute acquisition de la discipline. Mais celui qui possède la discipline ne la perd pas...'

[45] The two terms render *fa* and *tz'u fa hsiang pi*, respectively. For the latter, Hsüan-tsang has *sui fa*, which leads one to suspect that the respective originals were *dharma* and *anudharma*. On the latter term, neither the *Kośa* nor the *Visuddhimagga* is of any help.

[46] This represents *chieh chieh t'o*, for which Hsüan-tsang has *pieh chieh t'o* his his equivalent for *prātimokṣa*.

[47] Here again, *vinaya* stands for *p'i-ni*, for which Hsüan-tsang has *lü i*, i.e., *saṃvara*. Hence the '*vinaya* of discipline-release' represents *prātimokṣasaṃvara*. The distinction between *prātimokṣa* and *prātimokṣasaṃvara* is not easy to determine. Some help is furnished by LVP IV.48: '...Le Prātimokṣa, c'est la première *vijñapti* et la première *avijñapti*:... L'expression Prātimokṣa désigne la première *vijñapti* et la première *avijñapti* de la prise de la discipline. Le Prātimokṣa est nommé Prātimokṣa, car par lui a lieu le *pratimokṣaṇa*, c'est-à-dire l'abandon (*tyāga*), du péché (*pāpa*): telle (49) est l'efficace du premier moment (*vijñapti* et *avijñapti*) de la prise de la discipline...Cette *vijñapti* et cette *avijñapti* sont aussi 'discipline de Prātimokṣa', parce qu'elles disciplinent le corps et la voix.' Thus, the decision to abandon evil is *prātimokṣa*, while the restraints imposed upon one by that decision are *prātimokṣasaṃvara*, but the two, of course, overlap.

[48] 'Equal hold' renders *teng ch'ih*, one of Hsüan-tsang's equivalents for *samādhi*. Though Hs. has no analogue to this particular passage, I presume the identification to be correct, and I take it to mean that, just as the abovementioned restraints are contingent on the Prātimokṣa, so samādhi is contingent on well-disciplined bodily acts and speech.

Answer: The Noble Eightfold Path.[49]

Question: What must be done if there is to be talk of 'turning the *dharma*-wheel' ?

Answer: An apt case is that wherein the venerable Ajñātakauṇḍinya saw the dharma.[50]

Question: What is meant by 'straight *dharma*' ?[51]

Answer: The faculties without outflows, the strengths, the varieties of intuitive perception and of the way.[52]

Question: How long shall this straight dharma endure ?

Answer: As long as the practitioners of the dharma endure.[53]

Question: What must be done for the straight dharma to perish ?

Answer: Its practitioners must perish.

Question: In what time do births belong ?

Answer: Future.

Question: If (those born) perish, in what time does that belong ?

Answer: Present.

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[49] Cf. LVP VI.246: 'Le Bhadanta Ghoṣaka dit: Le saint chemin à huit members est une roue, parce que les members sont de la nature des rayons, etc....'

[50] Cf. LVP V.249: '... Si le Sūtra dit que la roue fut mise en mouvement (*pravartita*) lorsque Kauṇḍinya réalisa le chemin de vue, c'est que le préfixe *pra* indique le commencement de l'action...'

[51] This renders *teng fa*, for which Hsüan-tsang has *cheng fa*, usually equivalent to *saddharma*. Possibly our text goes back to a *samyagdharma* in the same sense.

[52] Cf. LVP VIII.218: '...La Bonne Loi du Maître est double, elle est *āgama* et *adhigama*...(219) L'*adhigama*, [c'est la "sainteté"]; c'est, en même temps que les *dharmas* adjuvants de la Bodhi (*bodhipākṣika dharmas*,...) pratiqués par les Āryas des trois véhicules, les fruits de la vie religieuse...obtenus par les trois véhicules...'

[53] Cf. LVP VIII.218: '...Combien de temps durera la Bonne Loi de Bhagavat—période durant laquelle ces diverses spécifications des *dharmas* pourront être clairement connues et vues ?...(220) Ceux qui prêchent la Bonne Loi, Sūtra, etc., supportent la Bonne Loi qui est *āgama*. Ceux qui partiquent ou réalisent la Bonne Loi, *dharmas* adjuvants de la Bodhi, etc., supportent la Bonne Loi qui est *adhigama*. Aussi longtemps qu'existent dans le monde semblables hommes, aussi longtemps dure la Bonne Loi.'

Question: If from the very first the person enters the first Dhyāna without outflows, in what time does that belong ?

Answer: Future.

Question: If from the very first he enters anything from that until the Concentration of No Need,[54] in what time does he belong ?

Answer: Future.[55]

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[54] These render *pu yung ting*, for which Hsüan-tsang has *wu lou wu so yu ch'u*, i.e., *anāsravaṃ nākiñcanyāyatanam.*

[55] Hsüan-tsang's version is very different:

Question: If from the beginning one enters the first Dhyāna without outflows, in what time belong the *cittacaittadharmas* without outflows which one obtains by virtue of this ?

Answer: Future.

Question: If from the beginning one enters any place from that up to and including the Ākiñcanyāyatana without outflows, in what time belong the *cittacaittadharmas* without outflows which one obtains by virtue of that ?

Answer: Future.

Question: In what time do births belong ?

Answer: Present.

I must confess that I do not understand this final exchange at all, and that I have found no other literature that will help.

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TAMIL SOUND-SEQUENCE OF THE JAPANESE ALPHABET

As a young child of nine I was introduced to the Japanese *kana* alphabet in 1936, and ever since, its precise origin has been a question-mark for me. It is a syllabary of 50 sounds, plus the supernumerary final *n* which is pronounced *un* in Japanese. The entire alphabet, known as *Gojūondzu*, runs as follows:

a	*i*	*u*	*e*	*o*
ka	*ki*	*ku*	*ke*	*ko*
sa	*shi*	*su*	*se*	*so*
ta	*chi*	*tsu*	*te*	*to*
na	*ni*	*nu*	*ne*	*no*
ha	*hi*	*fu*	*he*	*ho*
ma	*mi*	*mu*	*me*	*mo*
ya	*yi*	*yu*	*ye*	*yo*
ra	*ri*	*ru*	*re*	*ro*
wa	(*w*)*i*	(*w*)*u*	(*w*)*e*	(*w*)*o*
un				

That it originates from an Indian sound-sequence is evident *prima facie*, but there are divergences in sequence and lacunae when compared with the Nagari alphabet. This has misled scholars, for instance, S. Yoshitake: "Seven years ago Mr. E. Pagel answered the question : 'Was wissen wir von den Lauten des altjapanischen ?[1] It is universally recognized that the so-called Gojūondzu, the table of fifty Japanese syllabic sounds, was modelled on the arrangement of Devanagari alphabet. The two schemes agree, but for a few divergences. The Japanese syllables with *s*- occupy the line which is given for *c* [*tš*] and *j* [*dž*] in the Nagari scheme. This does not seem to Mr. Pagel any definite proof that the Japanese *s* was pronounced *ts* at the time when the table was made, because the line *c* may just as well have been filled up with *s* for sake of completeness."[2]

The Japanese alphabet shows two major statistical analogies with the Nagari alphabet:

(i) Both comprise 50 sounds,[3] though they are different in each of them, as against 30 in Tamil which has 12 vowels and 18 consonants.[4]

(ii) The Nagari alphabet has five letters in each of the guttural (*ka*), palatal (*ca*), lingual (*ṭa*), dental (*ta*) and labial (*pa*) classes of mutes. As only

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[1] E. Pagel, Was wissen..., *Asia Major* 3(1926).345.

[2] S. Yoshitake, *The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese*, London 1934, p. 2.

[3][4] See next page.

some sounds of each class existed in Japanese it was not possible to adopt the Indic system wholesale. But the structural exterior of 'five' was retained in the Japanese framework: *a i u e o, ka ki ku ke ko*, etc.

Besides a desire to reflect a broad external resemblance to Nagari, the quinary division represents the Five Tathāgatas of the Shingon school: Vairocana (centre), Ratnaketu (east), Saṅkusumitarāja (south), Amitābha (west), and Divyadundubhi-meghanirghoṣa (north). As the Japanese alphabet was invented by Kōbō daishi the founder of Shingon, it was bound to be influenced by Shingon concepts. The alphabet was an instrument for understanding the transcendental, causeless and infinite. The invocation in the *Hizō hōyaku* 'The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury' by Kōbō daishi seeks refuge in the alphabet as the dharma-maṇḍala[5]:

[I take refuge] in the Silent One,
Ka [evolving], *Ca* [involving], *Ṭa* [majestic],
Ta [Suchness], *Pa* [Truth], and *Ya* [Vehicle].

'The Silent One' stands for Mahāvairocana. *Ka* is *kārya* 'action', *Ca* is *cyuti* 'falling', *Ṭa* is *ṭaṅka* 'pride', *Ta* is *Tathatā* 'Suchness', *Pa* is *paramārthasatya* 'the ultimate Truth' and *Ya* is *yāna* 'vehicle—the absolute Vehicle on which all are being carried'.

The external resemblance of the Japanese and Nagari alphabets ends here. Now let us cite the Tamil alphabet:

Vowels: *a ā i ī u ū e ē ai o ō au*
Consonants: *k ṅ c ñ ṭ ṇ t n p m y r l v ṛ ḷ r (tt) n*

(i) The Japanese vowels correspond precisely to the Tamil vowels except that they do not express length and hence are five only. In the consonantal system too Japanese follows Tamil exactly, omitting of course those sounds which did not exist in Japanese : *ṅ ñ ṭ ṇ l ṛ ḷ r*. We get the following correspondence :

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[3] The Nagari alphabet as written in Siddham in Japan is:
a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ e ai o au aṃ aḥ
ka kha ga gha ṅa ca cha ja jha ña
ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha na
pa pha ba bha ma ya ra la va
śa ṣa sa ha llaṃ

[4] G.U. Pope, *A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*, Oxford 1926, p. 6 (§II. The alphabet).

[5] Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kukai: Major Works*, New York 1972, p. 162 and n. 23.

Tamil : *k ṅ c/s ñ t n p m y r l v ṉ*
Japanese : *k - s - t n h m y r - v n*

(ii) "Equally notable is the fact that the syllables with *g-*, *d-*, *b-*, and *z-* are not found in the Gojūondzu, although the corresponding Sanskrit syllables appear in the Nagari scheme. One explanation is that the Japanese *g*, *d*, *b*, and *z* came into existence from *k*, *t*, *p*, and *s* under certain conditions, and are therefore secondary to their voiceless counterparts". (Yoshitake, p. 3). The representation of the voiceless and voiced consonants by the same grapheme in Japanese is again due to Tamil where *ka* stood both for *ka* and *ga*. The Japanese made an innovation by adding the double apostrophe to the voiceless letter to express the voiced, e.g. *ka* and *ga*. Japanese *chi* and *ji* (with the addition of the 'double apostrophe') is paralleled by Tamil where *c* after *ñ=j*. The Japanese *t/d* and *p/b* also go back to Tamil.

(iii) In Tamil *c* also expresses the sibilants of Sanskrit: *cani*=Skt. *śani*. In Japanese *ti* was palatalised to *chi* and it served the phonetic functions of *c*. As the Tamil alphabet had no sibilant and *c* stood for Sanskrit sibilants, there was no choice for the inventor of the Japanese alphabet but to locate Japanese *s* in the locus of Tamil *c*, as he wanted to follow the Tamil sequence in detail. The lack of this rationale of the placement of *s* in the Japanese alphabet has complicated the understanding of historical development of Japanese phonology. "That this table of the fifty Japanese syllabic sounds was first made on the model of the arrangement of Devanagari is hardly dubitable. In these two schemes we find that the Japanese syllables with *s-* correspond to the Sanskrit syllables with *c* [*tš*] and *j* [*dž*]. It is, of course, impossible to conclude from this alone that the Japanese *s* was pronounced [*tš*] in the tenth century as some scholars seem to believe, for it may simply be for convenience that the author of the Gojūondzu placed the *s*-syllables in that particular position, as Mr. Pagel has already pointed out".[6]

(iv) "It is now a well-established fact that the modern Japanese [*h*] is of labial origin. It goes back to an earlier labio-dental voiceless fricative [*f*] or a bilabval voiceless fricative [F], which seems to have evolved from [p]..... Our problem is : How was this consonant pronounced in the seventh-eighth centuries A.D.? Was it [F], [f], or [p] ? As the list of Man-yō-gana shows, it is represented by the Ancient Chinese as embodied in the Ch'ieh-yün *p-*, *p'-*, or *b'-*, the sound *b* being lacking in Ancient Chinese. This does not tell us the exact nature of the Japanese consonant beyond the possibility that it was not [*h*]". (Yoshitake, pp. 46, 47).

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[6] Yoshitake, *o.c.*, p. 52.

In Japanese *m* is preceded by *h* which stands in place of Tamil *p*. In Japanese a superscript circlet is affixed to *ha* for expressing *pa*. When a 'double apostrophe' is added then *ha* becomes *ba*, which makes it clear that modern *ha* stands for an earlier *pa*~*fa*. For the *p*~*h* phenomenon, Caldwell says: "Tamil and Malayalam are destitute of the sound of *h*....In Modern Canarese *h* is regularly used as a substitute for *p*, as is sometimes the case in Marathi; but ancient Canarese agrees in this particular with Tamil".[7]

(v) The Tamil alphabet ends with *n*, which is invariably used as a final.[8] It is interesting that the Japanese alphabet also ends with the final *n*, which is pronounced *un* in Japanese to indicate that its position in a syllable can be only at the end. The Japanese alphabet of 50 sounds closes with *wo* and *un* at the end is supernumerary. So also the final *n* is excluded in the count of 30 letters of the Tamil alphabet. The final nasal is affixed even to the last letter of the Siddham Nagari alphabet *llaṃ*. *Lla* stands for the lingual *l* which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of *ḍ* between two vowels (W.D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Cambridge, Mass. 1950, p. 19 para 54).

The sequence of Japanese graphemes followed the Tamil in all fidelity. There were Japanese sounds (*g*, *b*, etc) for which they could have evolved specific graphemes but this was precluded by the plan to remain parallel to Tamil. The Japanese alphabet had to evolve diacritics to express sounds like *g*, *j*, *d* which were fundamental to the language. Why did the Japanese adhere to the Tamil model, when they knew Siddham Nagari and were even more conversant with it. The reason may be found in the fact that the Japanese alphabet was created by Kōbō daishi the founder of the Shingon sect, which was initiated in the Far East by Vajrabodhi of Kanchi. In southern India, the Tamil alphabet was used for the Tamil language and Grantham or Siddham was employed for writing the religious texts in Sanskrit. It gave rise to a differentiation of the secular and sacred scripts. This dichotomy seems to have been carried to the Far East by Vajrabodhi who must have used Tamil for secular purposes and Siddham for writing mantras. This can provide a reason for Kōbō daishi's modelling of the secular Japanese alphabet after the Tamil, which should have been transmitted to Kōbō daishi by his master Hui-kuo who bequeathed all the "objects which were left to me by my master [Amoghavajra]".[9] Amoghavajra (705-774) was the "chosen disciple" of

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[7] Robert Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, rev. by J. L. Wyatt, T. Ramakrishna Pillai, Madras 1961, p. 147.

[8] Robert Caldwell, *o.c.*, p. 131.

[9] Yoshitake, *o.c.*, p. 30.

Vajrabodhi (d. 741) who arrived in Canton by sea in 720 from South India. Vajrabodhi's father, a brahmin, was a teacher of the king of Kanchi.[10] The Pallava kings of Kanchi were famous for their patronage to learning, and by their efforts Kanchi had become one of the seven sacred cities of India. Kanchi was the prime city of learning (*nagarīṣu Kāñcī*) and its contributions to the interflow of culture to the Far East are pervasive. Bodhidharma of the royal family of Kanchi introduced Dhyāna (Jap. Zen) Buddhism to China in the fifth or sixth century.[11] In the years 501-507 Dharmaruci of South India had translated three texts from Sanskrit into Chinese.[12] In A. D. 693-713 Bodhiruci, a brahmin of South India, translated 53 Sanskrit works into Chinese and he died in his 156th year in A. D. 727.[13] The tradition of South Indian teachers visiting and working in China was continuous and in this train Vajrabodhi played a major role by introducing Vajrayāna to China, whence it was transmitted to Japan where to this day it is a dominant sect and it has contributed richly to Japanese culture in manifold ways. Vajrabodhi was responsible for the introduction of the Vajraśekhara-tantra of the yoga division of tantras. At that time it was the supreme development of tantric thought and practise with an intricate philosophical system. So Vajrabodhi was naturally given the deepest esteem and all his legacy was highly venerated. He must have bequeathed the Tamil alphabet of which no physical evidence has been traced so far in the Far East nor has any reference in chronicles or hagiographies been noticed, but which can be deduced positively from the arrangement of sounds in the Japanese alphabet. Perhaps, in the near future some scholar will find references in the Sino-Japanese tradition to attest this hypothesis.

At the beginning of the Heian period (794-) education was limited to children of families above the fifth rank, and nothing was done for the children of common folk. It was Kōbō daishi who opened the Institution of General Arts and Wisdom (Shugei Shuchi-in) near the Toji monastery at Kyoto, for children of the common people. Education was imparted both in secular and sacred subjects. Kōbō daishi thus democratised education in Japan. It is no wonder that he was prompted to evolve a simple Japanese *kana* alphabet from complex Chinese ideograms for promoting education. His knowledge of Indian

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[10] Chou Yi-liang, Tantrism in China, *HJAS.* 8(1945).272-273.

[11] Jan Fontein & Money L. Hickman, *Zen Painting and Calligraphy*, Boston 1970, p. xiv, 49-51.

[12] Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, col. 426 no. 111.

[13] Bunyiu Nanjio, *o.c.*, col. 442 no. 150.

phonetics was the inspiration. He had learned Sanskrit from Prajña (A.D. 733-?, came to China in 782) and Muniśrī[14] (A.D. ?-811), and the Tamil sound system should have been transmitted from Vajrabodhi to Amoghavajra to Hui-kuo to Kōbō daishi. The correspondence of the Tamil and Japanese sound-systems is no accidence and it deserves further detailed study. It will open up new avenues in the reconstruction of the ancient pronunciation of Japanese and may shed welcome light on Kalgren's reconstructions of Archaic and Ancient Chinese.

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[14] S. Yoshitake, *o.c.*, p. 33. The dates are from Ninkaku Takata, The relations between esoterism and the Tathāgata-garbha theory as seen in the Shou-hu-kuo-chieh-chu-dharani-ching, *Indogaku bukkyogaku kenkyū*, Tokyo 1961, 19(2).34. Seishin Kato, Kobo-daishi and the Japanese culture, in *Footsteps of Japanese Buddhism, Part II* (*The Shingon Sect*), Tokyo 1937, pp. 30-31.

YUKEI MATSUNAGA, KOYASAN (JAPAN)

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE *GUHYASAMĀJA-TANTRA*

I. *Introduction.* Among the Anuttarayoga-tantras which are divided into Prajñā-tantras or Yoginī-tantras (mother tantras) and Upāya-tantras or Mahāyoga-tantras (father tantras) the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* is known as the most basic Upāya-tantra text and is a representative Akṣobhya-kula tantra. It has been widely adhered to by Indian and Tibetan tantrists and research on this text has continued for a long time. For this reason its historical significance can be compared to the *Hevajra-tantra* or *Sambara-tantra* among the Prajñā-tantras.

A considerable number of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* exist in various regions of the world reflecting its long history of wide dissemination. These Sanskrit manuscripts are divided into Pūrvārdha or the first half and the Parārdha or second half. Generally speaking, the title *Guhyasamāja-tantra* indicates only the Pūrvārdha which consists of 18 chapters. The Parārdha has kalpas and sādhanas of the Heruka or Sampta system,[1] and its material is clearly different from the Pūrvārdha. During the later days of the prosperous era of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* even the texts of the Prajñā-tantra system seem to have been completely incorporated within the *Guhyasamāja-tantra.* Afterwards the appellation *Guhyasamāja-tantra* was limited just to the Pūrvārdha.

The *I-ch'ieh-ju-lai-chin-kang-san-yeh-tsui-shang-pi-mi-ta-chiao-wang ching*[2] translated in 1002 A.D. by Shih-huo has 18 chapters. The *De-bzhin-gśegs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku gsuṅ thugs-kyi gsaṅ-chen gsaṅ-ba ḥdus-pa zhes-bya-ba brtag-paḥi rgyal-po chen-po* (*Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittarahasya-guhyasamāja nāma mahākalparāja*), which is the Tibetan translation of Śraddhākaravarmā and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po of around the same period, in the Peking edition (81) is treated as a single tantra having eighteen chapters. However, in the Derge edition only chapters 1-17 are designated the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* (442), chapter 18 being treated as a distinct text under the name of *rGyud phyi-ma* (443, Uttaratantra). Also, the major part of the Indian and Tibetan commentaries classify the first 17 chapters as Mūlatantra, while chapter 18 is distinguished as Uttaratantra. The Uttaratantra in a comparison with both the teachings and practices of the Mūlatantra has

[1] S. Matsunami, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*, Tokyo 1965, pp. 277-279.

[2] Taisho vol. 18, no. 885.

numerous expanded forms and hence is generally considered to have appeared later than the Mūlatantra.

In general tantras belonging to the anuttarayoga-tantra consist of Mūla-tantra, Uttaratantra and Ākhyānatantras. In the Guhyasamāja circle, the Ākhyānatantra are usually considered the following four tantras (443-446): the *Sandhivyākaraṇa-tantra*, the *Vajramālā-tantra*, the *Caturdevīparipṛcchā tantra* and the *Vajrajñānasamuccaya-tantra*. These Ākhyānatantras are found in Tibetan only and have more advanced teaching and practices than the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* itself.

It is by no means rare that the entire body of Buddhist tantras were not compiled with any uniform goal, that its various teachings and practices were intermingled and that some particular sādhanas beyond the original tantras were made. The *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* which is a representative Caryā-tantra and the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sutra* which is a representative Yoga-tantra have numerous sādhanas beyond the sūtras. In Anuttarayoga-tantra one or numerous Utpattikrama and Utpanna- or Sampanna-krama in each school were created by drawing upon the practices explained in the tantras.

The most important schools within the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* circle are the Jñānapāda school (Ye-śes zhabs lugs) founded by Buddhaśrījñāna and the Saint school (ḥPhags ḥkhor) founded by Nāgārjuna. The Utpattikrama's of the Jñānapāda school are the *Samantabhadra nāma sādhana* (1855) and the *Caturaṅga-sādhana-samantabhadrī nāma sādhana* (1856) while its Sampannakrama is the *Muktitilaka nāma* (1859). The practical order of both of these is incorporated in the *Dvikramatattvabhāvanā nāma mukhāgama* (1853) and each exists only in Tibetan translations. In the Saint school its Utpattikrama is the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana* (1796) while the *Pañcakrama* (1802) is its Sampannakrama. The Sanskrit texts describing the practical order of both of the latter have already been discovered and published.[3]

Various practices are explained in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. This text has as its goal the attainment of Buddhahood in this present life. This is to be achieved by realizing that one's body, speech and mind are essentially one with the body, speech and mind of the Buddha, even while possessing the human weaknesses of desire, wrath, ignorance, etc. Those practices which have the most systematic form are Caturaṅga-sādhana or practical order of four steps and the Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga or yoga of six steps. The four steps of the Caturaṅga-sādhana are the sevā, upasādhana, sādhana and mahāsādhana, and these are explained in the twelfth chapter of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and in its 18th chapter

[3] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Pañcakrama*, Gand 1896.

(Uttaratantra), Ṣaḍaṅgayoga consists of pratyāhāra, dhyāna, prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, anusmṛti and samādhi, these also being explained in the 18th chapter. In all, the above features characterise the peculiar significance of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra.*

The bold accounts of sex and the disgusting explanations concerning the consumption of excrement and human beings which are characteristic of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* have repeatedly aroused criticism of this text. However, these immoral teachings and practices should be considered the special characteristics of Anuttarayoga-tantra which is an extremely mystical religion. One of the fundamental attitudes of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* is to find an original pure nature in such deeds which have been negated from an ethical viewpoint.

The special features of the maṇḍala of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* are the appearance of goddesses or Śaktis as consorts of the Tathāgatas and the change of the central Buddha from Vairocana to Akṣobhya. Within dhāraṇī texts admiration towards goddesses has existed from of old. The *Māyājāla-tantra* was the first text from which the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* drew such accounts, the goddesses appearing thereafter as consorts of the Tathāgatas. In the Prajñā-tantra five Tathāgatas were often converted to certain goddesses.

The Guhyasamāja-maṇḍala was originally structured around the thirteen Buddhas explained in the first chapter. These are the five Tathāgatas Akṣobhya (center), Vairocana (east), Ratnaketu (south), Amitāyus or Amitābha (west) and Amoghasiddhi (north), their four Śaktis Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā and the four Krodharājas (guardians) Yamāntakṛt, Prajñāntakṛt, Padmāntakṛt and Vighnāntakṛt. Moreover, after the thirteenth chapter the four Krodharājas Yamāntaka (Yamāntakṛt), Aparājita (Prajñāntakṛt), Hayagrīva (Padmāntakṛt) and Vajrāmṛta (Vighnāntakṛt) are appended and adding six more Krodharājas—Ṭakkirāja, Mahābala, Nīladaṇḍa, Acala, Uṣṇīṣa and Sumbharāja—there is a total of ten additional Krodharājas.

Akṣobhya is positioned as the central Buddha among the five Tathāgatas in the basic structure of the Guhyasamāja-maṇḍala. In a process of continual change within tantric texts whereby the position of Vairocana as the central Tathāgata was often altered, this text is recognized as having been formed with the replacement of Vairocana by Akṣobhya.

II. The Age of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra.* The *Guhyasamāja-tantra* has been transmitted in India as an Uttaratantra of the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra.*[14] Not only the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* but all of the teachings, practices and maṇḍalas of Anuttarayogatantra were influenced by the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra.* On the other

hand, the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* which is highly revered in Shingon Mikkyo (Esoteric Buddhism of Japan) had little relationship with the later development of Buddhist tantrism in India and Tibet. Briefly stated, Buddhist tantrism underwent a significant development based on the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra* which is a representative Yoga-tantra text.

According to the traditions in China and Japan, the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra* is thought to correspond with the first section of the *Chin-kang-ting-ching* series which consists of a hundred thousand verses and eighteen sections preached in eighteen synods. An outline of the eighteen sections is said to be noted in the *Chih-kang-ting-ching-yü-ch'ieh-shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei*[5] as translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra who had been in India between 744 and 746 A.D. The name "Guhyasamāja-yoga" and a brief explanation of this text does appear in the fifteenth section of the *Shih-pa-lui-chin-kuei*. If this "Guhyasamāja-yoga" corresponds to the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, we must set the date of this tantra before 746 A.D. In comparing the explanations of the *Shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei* with those of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* in its present form, the former states that the Lord Buddha preached the teachings, mudrās and mantras of the Guhyasamāja-yoga at the yoṣid bhaga or vulva using the coarse speech of the mundane world. Prompted by curiosity, Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhi-bodhisattva asked the Lord Buddha why. He replied that it was an effective means for leading the common people to Buddhism and that it was conducive to benefiting others. Thereupon every Bodhisattva revealed four kinds of maṇḍala and four kinds of mudrā. With such a brief explication the fifteenth section ends. A similar discussion can be found in the fifth chapter of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, but it has no relation with other chapters. The *Shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei* does not mention the five Tathāgatas with their four Śaktis among whom Akṣobhya-tathāgata is the main deity, the attainment of Buddhahood in the present life by the union of the body, speech and mind (Kāyavākcitta-adhiṣṭhāna) or the four kinds of discipline (Caturaṅga-sādhana) which are essential to the practices of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. In contrast the above four kinds of maṇḍala and four kinds of mudrā can be found in the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra* which is a representative Yoga-tantra. The accounts in the fifteenth section of the *Shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei* have the color of Anuttarayoga-tantra and the influences of the above Yoga-tantra seem strong. In a comparison with this Yoga-tantra text, the present form of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* is not thought to have existed at the time of the *Shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei*, but

[4] *Sarvaguhyapradīpaṭīkā* (*Sñan-grags bzaṅ-po*) Tohoku no. 1787, fol. 204b.

[5] Taisho vol. 18, no. 869.

the original text must be considered to have been formed. In the first half of the 8th century which was still a flourishing period for Yoga-tantra, the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* as an Anuttarayoga-tantra was not completed, but we can probably say it had been in its formative stage. In the Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts of this period, there appear only the Kriyā, Caryā and Yoga tantras. Anuttarayoga-tantras cannot be found at all.

For our next consideration we must give careful deliberation to the period when the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* was completed. This problem has an intimate relationship with the Jñānapāda school. When we compare the respective Utpattikramas and Sampannakramas of the Saint and Jñānapāda schools, the Saint school has developed much more well articulated explanations. In the maṇḍala of the Jñānapāda school there are nineteen deities due to the addition of ten Krodharājas to the five Tathāgatas and four Śaktis explained in the Mūlatantra of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. Instead of Akṣobhya who is usually mentioned, the central Tathāgata of the Jñānapāda school is Mañjuvajra, this Tathāgata appearing only after the thirteenth chapter. However, none of the thirty-two deities of the Saint school can be found in Uttaratantra and, of course, neither in the Mūlatantra of the *Guhyasamāja*. While the Caturaṅga-sādhana which is the practical order of the Jñānapāda school is explained in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, the *Pañcakrama* of the Saint school is not touched upon at all. Not only in regard to the above maṇḍala and sādhana but also in reference to the various practices of the Saint school there is no mention of the Mūlatantra or Uttaratantra of the *Guhyasamāja* as its authority and, instead, there are numerous references to Ākhyānatantras. This indicates that its expanded form was completed after the formation of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.

In Tibetan translations the sādhanas and commentaries of the Saint school were translated only after the 11th century. In comparison the Jñānapāda school had an intimate relationship with the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. Thus we are able to date the Jñānapāda school around the period of the formation of this tantra.

Within the *Samantabhadra nāma sādhana*[6] and the *Caturaṅgasādhana-samantabhadrī nāma*[7] of Jñānapāda which are the Utpattikrama's of the Jñānapāda school some parts of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*[8] are quoted verbatim. Accordingly, the present form of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* seems to have been completed at the

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[6] Tohoku no. 1855, fols. 31b, 33b, 30b.

[7] Tohoku no. 1856, fols. 38b, 40a, 38a.

[8] Tohoku no. 442, fols. 111b, 138ab, 146b.

time of Jñānapāda.[9]

In lieu of the dates of Haribhadra and Śāntarakṣita who were clearly contemporaries of Jñānapāda and who had ties with him Jñānapāda's period of activity is placed around the latter half of the 8th century. We may also note that Vairocana who was a contemporary of King Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan (ca. 800) had introduced the Sampannakrama of the Jñānapāda school from India to Tibet. Compositions of Jñānapāda are recorded in the Denkarma catalogue which was written around the beginning of the 9th century. In addition, since a commentary[10] on the *Guhyasamāja-uttaratantra* composed by Viśvamitra who belonged to the Jñānapāda school and a commentary[11] on the *Guhyasamāja-mūla-tantra* by Vajrahāsa remain in the Tibetan canon as old translations, both commentaries must have been translated before the translations of tantras was prohibited by King Ral-pa-can who acceded to the throne in 815. For all the above reasons we know that the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* including the Uttara-tantra part was completed during the latter half of the 8th century when Jñānapāda was active.

Accordingly, we can probably conjecture that the first half of the 8th century was the formative period of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, while the text in its present form was completed in the latter half of the 8th century.

Numerous misconceptions are recorded concerning the age of the *Guhya-samāja-tantra*. Since the *Tathāgataguhyaka* as quoted in numerous places in Śāntideva's 7th century composition the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is regarded as identical with the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, its formative period is accordingly placed before the 7th century.[12] B. Bhattacharyya also appends the name *Tathāgataguhyaka* to the title page of his Sanskrit edition of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.[13] However Watters[14] and Winternitz[15] by comparing the quotations of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*

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[9] Yukei Matsunaga, "Some problems of the age of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, *Nakano Festschrift*, pp. 205, 206.

[10] Tohoku no. 1844.

[11] Tohoku no. 1909.

[12] B.H. Hodgson, *Notices of the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepaul and Tibet; Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*, 1841, p. 25; Haraprasād Śāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 1, Calcutta, 1917, pp. 17, 21; J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Oxford 1920, p. 210.

[13] *G.O.S.* vol. 53.

[14] C. Bendall. *Çikshāsamuccaya, Bibliotheca Buddhica*, vol. 1 (1897-1902), p. 274 note.

[15] M. Winternitz, "Notes on the Guhyasamāja-tantra and age of the tantras," *I.H.Q.* vol. ix, no. 1, 1933, pp. 1-7.

with the present *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, conclude that the *Tathāgataguhyaka* and *Guhyasamāja-tantra* are different texts.

Bhattacharyya's view[16] that Asaṅga, the Mahāyāna philosopher of the 4th century, was the author of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* has been denied by many scholars.[17] Later careful consideration was given to the formative period of this tantra by studying Tibetan materials. Its formative period has been agreed upon in reference to the Tibetan commentaries and sādhanas on this tantra by Indrabhūti,[18] Nāgārjuna[19] and Candrakīrti who are generally called Siddhas. Although these Siddhas generally have the same name, they are indeed different individuals, throughout many periods there are numerous different Siddhas who have the same name. In any case we must be prudent in deciding the formative period of the tantras in reference to the period of the Siddhas.

Since there are analogies with the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and Vaiṣṇavism in the *Vajramālā-tantra*, which is one of the Ākhyānatantras of the Guhyasamāja, a study has also appeared which set the formative period of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* in the 4th century.[20] If we concur that analogous statements were all composed at the same time, for example, the explications of the magical rituals of śānti, pauṣṭika and ābhicārika etc., explained in the Buddhist tantras based on the fact that they appear even in the *Atharvaveda*, we should be able to trace the era of Buddhist tantrism back before the birth of Christ.

We must not forget the existence of the *Māyājāla-tantra* in the process of the formation of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* out of the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra*. This tantra was translated into Tibetan by Rin-chen bzaṅ-po in the 11th century[21] and also into Chinese under the name of *Yu-k'ie-ta-kiao-wang-king*[22] by Fa-hsien around the same period.

In the second chapter of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* the five Tathāgatas Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitāyus and Amoghasiddhi relate certain ideas

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[16] B. Bhattacharyya, *G.O.S.* vol. 53, introduction p. XXXV.

[17] M. Winternitz, loc. cit ; H. Hadano, *The Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association* no. 16, p. 72; Lalmani Joshi, *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India*, Delhi 1967, pp. 330-334.

[18] G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. 1, p. 213.

[19] L. Joshi, loc. cit.

[20] A. Wayman, "Early Literary History of the Buddhist Tantras, especially the Guhyasamāja-tantra," *Annals of B.O.R. Institute, Golden Jubilee Volume*, vol. XLVIII-XLIX, Poona 1968, pp. 100-106; *The Buddhist Tantras*, New York 1973, pp. 13-19.

[21] Tohoku no. 466.

[22] Taisho no. 890.

concerning their respective bodhicitta. The ideas of all these Tathāgatas except Vairocana were based on the *Māyājāla-tantra*,[23] while Vairocana's views were incorporated from the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*.[24]

The forty-one deities explained in the second chapter of the *Māyājāla-tantra* form the structure of its maṇḍala. These are five Tathāgatas with Vairocana as the central deity, four Śaktis, four Pāramitā-bodhisattvas, four Bodhisattvas, sixteen Mahābodhisattvas and eight Krodharājas. The five Tathāgatas, four Pāramitā-bodhisattvas and sixteen Mahābodhisattvas are derived from the maṇḍala of the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra*, and later the four Śaktis and eight Krodharājas were incorporated in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* which has ten Krodharājas. It may be presumed that the *Māyājāla-tantra* was formed when the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* was evolving from the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra*, it having some influence on the formation of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.

Also Vajrahāsa's commentary[25] which is one of the oldest on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and which is highly revered by the rÑiṅ-ma-pa of Tibet, quotes as an āgama the *gSaṅ-baḥi sñiṅ-po*.[26] This *gSaṅ-baḥi sñiṅ-po* served as the foundation for the *Māyājāla-tantra* and considerably influenced the formation of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.

III. Composition of the Tantra. It is generally recognized that the Uttaratantra, i.e. the eighteenth chapter of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* which has expanded teachings and practices, was formed somewhat later than the previous Mūlatantra or first seventeen chapters of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. Similarly, the contents of the Mūlatantra are not always consistent and the entire body of the text was not formed at one time. The Mūlatantra should also be divided into two parts, i.e., from the first chapter to the twelfth and from the thirteenth chapter to the seventeenth. This will be clarified in the following discussion.

There are four Ākhyānatantras of the Guhyasamāja and three among these have been influenced by the Saint School as will be treated below. Since only the *Sandhivyākaraṇa* which is an Ākhyānatantra written in the form of a commentary on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* remained aloof from the influences of both the Saint and Jñānapāda schools, this text can be said to be an indispensible tool for research on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. This *Sandhivyākaraṇa* is

[23] Taisho vol. 18, p. 577b; Tohoku no. 442, fols. 94a-95a.

[24] Taisho vol. 18, p. 46b; Tohoku no. 2664, fol. 119a.

[25] Tohoku no. 832, fol. 119b.

[26] Tohoku no. 1909, fol. 55b.

discussed in t e first twelve chapters of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, but there is no mention of it after the thirteenth chapter. In fact an examination of the first twelve chapters and the latter five chapters raises the question of whether or not their contents, structure and formation are different or not. I will try to deal with this problem through the following four points.

First, in regards to the number of deities in the maṇḍala, a limit of thirteen deities is explained in chapter one, and such is the case until chapter twelve, but, beginning with chapter thirteen, six additional Krodharājas appear, their mantras and iconography being explained in detail. Thus, in regard to the maṇḍala, we can see these differences.

Secondly, the Caturaṅga-sādhana explained in the Uttaratantra of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* which is the most important practice of this tantra, in its original form is found in the twelfth chapter. This has become a basis for arguing that the tantra in its original form may have been completed with the first twelfth chapter.

Thirdly, when comparing the latter five chapters with the first twelve, the length of the chapters has doubled or tripled, numerous expanded mantras appear and the contents of these two sections are quite different.

Finally, the main subjects of the Mūlatantra, which are arranged in the form of fifty-two questions and answers in the Uttaratantra, can all be found prior to the twelfth chapter. In fact, the basic part of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* can be stated to be incorporated within the first twelve chapters.

Based on the above, I think we can divide the structure and contents of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* into the first twelve chapters and the following five chapters. If we do so, we should probably recognize that the latter five chapters were appended after the compilation of the first twelve, the Uttaratantra hence being completed. However, the Uttaratantra text which is quoted in Viśvāmitra's commentary and which remains as an old Tibetan translation differs with the present text. Accordingly, it is likely that a small process of development occurred before the present form of the Uttaratantra was completed.

IV. Ākhyānatantra and the Saint school. There are four representative Ākhyānatantras of the Guhyasamāja. These are the *Sandhivyākaraṇa*, *Vajramālā*, *Caturdevīparipṛcchā* and *Vajrajñānasamuccaya*. In the subcommentary of the dGe-lugs-pa on the *Pradīpodyotana*, i.e. commentary on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, we find the name of *Devendraparipṛcchā* listed as one of the Ākhyānatantra.[27] However,

[27] Tohoku no. 6868, fol. 3.

since there are no Sanskrit manuscripts or Tibetan translations of such a tantra, the Ākhyānatantras have been limited to the above four tantras.

In the last part of the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana* which is the Utpattikrama of the Saint school, the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana* is described as based on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and the *Vajramālā-tantra*.[28] Also, in the beginning of the *Pañcakrama*, which is its Sampannakrama, it is related that it has to be understood by means of Ākhyānatantra.[29] Not only that, the *Pradīpodyotana* of Candrakīrti which is an important commentary of the Saint school relies heavily upon Ākhyānatantra rather than Mūlatantra. There is no mention of Ākhyānatantra in the Sādhana and commentaries of the Jñānapāda school. As only the Saint school highly reveres the Ākhyānatantra, we can say that the Ākhyānatantras excluding the *Sandhivyākaraṇa* embody a considerably strong Saint school color.

The thirty-two deity maṇḍala of the Saint school is not described in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and its authority appears to be based only on the *Vajramālā-tantra*. This *Vajramālā-tantra* has sixty-eight chapters. Of these the original explanation of the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana* of the Saint school is founded only on the first sixty-seven, the practical system of the *Pañcakrama* appearing unexpectedly in chapter sixty-eight. When we compare the explanations of the sixty-eighth chapter of the *Vajramālā-tantra* with the similar parts found in the fourth order of the *Pañcakrama*, it becomes clear that this section of the *Vajramālā-tantra* has been drawn from the *Pañcakrama*. Still, the first order of the *Pañcakrama* has been directly influenced by the sixty-eighth chapter of the *Vajramālā-tantra*. It has been verified that the *Vajrajñāna-samuccaya-tantra* which is one of the Ākhyānatantras and the *Pradīpodyotana* have also mutually influenced one another.[30]

It has become clear that these Ākhyānatantras had developed new teachings and practical methods which were influenced by the Saint school, but which cannot be found in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and moreover, they were purposely appended to and introduced to the Ākhyānatantras. The reason why this occurred is that the formation of the Saint school took place after the completion of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. In other words, in order for the Saint school to establish a new foothold outside the Mūlatantra and the Uttaratantra teachings it took as its authoritative base these tantras and then composed or adapted

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[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Pañcakrama*, p. 14, śloka 230.

[29] *Loc. cit.* p. 18, śloka 9.

[30] Y. Matsunaga, A Doubt to authority of the Guhyasamāja-tantras, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, vol. XII(2).844-845.

the Ākhyānatantras which incorporated a long historical development of the doctrines of this school.

In regards to the period of the tantrists Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti, according to some lineages which were transmitted in Tibet, we can presume that these Siddhas were living between the 9th century[31] and the middle of the 11th century. Bu-ston also concurs that the Saint school prospered in this same period.[32] In comparison with the Jñānapāda school whose founding is placed at the latter half of the 8th century, we will probably have to recognize that the Saint school was established at a later period.

Although there is a Chinese translation of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, it was not at all accepted in either China or Japan. This occurred because the left-handed teachings and practices which were incorporated in this Anuttarayoga-tantra were incompatible with the general ethical principles of China and Japan. Moreover, it is thought that there were no ācāryas in China who could fully transmit the practices of Anuttarayogatantra. When we compare the Chinese translations of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and *Hevajra-tantra* to their respective Sanskrit texts and Tibetan translations, we notice an abundance of mistranslations in the Chinese. It may well be that the Chinese translators translated these texts with scarcely any knowledge at all of Anuttarayogatantra.

In contrast, the tradition of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* in Tibet immediately attracts our attention. Among the eighteen texts which are highly respected by the rÑiṅ-ma-pa, the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* occupies the first rank. Even during the period of the new Tibetan translations after the 11th century this text still attracted the attention of people. Among the dGe-lugs-pa this tantra is deeply respected as the highest of all tantras and among almost all the schools of Lamaism many commentaries and subcommentaries have been written on it.

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[31] G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* 1.214.

[32] Bu-ston, *gSaṅ baḥi sgo ḥbyed*, fols. 38, 39.

A. D. T. E. PERERA, SRILANKA

THE ÄSALA PERAHARA

(an analysis on sociological, religious, literary and historical data on the great pageant held in SriLanka in honour of the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha)

An agrarian community whose prosperity is dependent primarily on the amount of annual rainfall they get, would naturally hold the period just before the break of rains with high expectations. In ancient SriLanka the Äsala month (which falls roughly in June-July according to the lunar calendar) prior to the rainy season would have been considered a most conducive time for merry-making and festivals. Reference is found in literature on festivals held in ancient SriLanka by the people, with their king leading, during this period of the year.[1] The need for festivals and observances of such rites that would make the people aware of the setting in of the rainy season would have been part of the social obligations of a primarily agrarian community that ancient SriLanka was. The failure of rains too must have been much dreaded, as it would lead to failure of crops, that would in turn lead to starvation, and poverty. Hence the best period to invoke the blessings of the rain-making gods too must have been the Äsala month.

The month of Äsala (Pali *Āsaḷha*, Sanskrit *Āṣāḍha*) is a period of festivity and mirth in SriLanka from time immemorial.[2] Äsala full-moon day marks an epoch-making event in the history of Buddhism too, being the day on which the Buddha preached his first sermon, the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta*. The

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[1] King Devānampiyatissa (ca. 3rd century B.C.) met thera Mahinda while celebrating a festival of water sport with his subjects during the month of June (i.e. Jeṭṭhamūla, *Mahāvaṃsa*= *Mhv.* ch.xii, vv. 13-18 and xiv.1). King Duṭṭhagāminī is said to have built a tank and held a water festival during the period Jeṭṭhamūla (*Mhv.* xxv.51). He is said to have founded a township by the name of *Pajjota*. The *Pajjota* could be explained as *Prasūna* or *Poson*, that is, flowers or flowering season; Poson is also the name of the lunar month that covers roughly the month of June; whereas *Jeṭṭhamūlạ* signifies the month *Jeṭṭha* (Sanskrit Jyeṣṭha) of the lunar calendar which falls roughly within June (see further *Sri Sumangala Sabdakosaya*, ed. Velivitiye Sorata Nayaka Thera, ref. Poson; *Sidatsangarāsanne*, ed. Dharmarama thera, Satyasamucchaya Press, 1931, p. 141; *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*=*JRAS* (Ceylon Branch), new series, vol. xiv, for 1970, p. 94, notes 1-3; see also A.D.T.E. Perera, Parjanya and Agni, did they make agriculture productive in ancient SriLanka, *JRAS* (SriLanka branch) new series, vol. xviii, for 1974.

[2] *JRAS* (Ceylon branch), op. cit, vol. xiv, pp. 109, 119.

fact that the month of Äsala also marks the change from the summer season to the rainy season (Pāli *Vassāna*) gives further a socio-religious significance to the ceremonies and festivals that are held in this period of the year. It is also in the month of Äsala that the Buddhist laity inaugurate the 'rains retreat' or the *Vassāvāsa* of three duration for the Bhikkhus, with the religious ceremony known as *Vas-Pinkama* and abide by a solemn oath to provide the daily requirements of the Saṅgha during their seclusion in the rainy season.

The Äsala Perahara held in the city of Kandy during the week that terminates with the full-moon day of the Äsala month is also known as *Daladā Perahära*, on account of the fact that it is held primarily in honour of the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha, namely the *Daladā*. It is a great festival of a socio-religious significance perpetuated from ancient times and could be justly called the greatest pageant in the whole of South Asia.

Although it is not definite that the Daladā Perahära was held from early times (i.e. from the fourth century A.D. onwards, when the Sacred Tooth Relic was first brought to SriLanka), in connection with the above-mentioned primary need of an agrarian community, that is to invoke the blessings of the rain-making gods, still one cannot easily rule out the possibility that the exposition of the *Daladā* during the past had also some significance with the rains. The mediaeval Sinhalese tract the *Daladāsirita*, categorically mentions this fact, when it records a royal decree which institutes an exposition of the Sacred Tooth Relic during the period of drought.[3] History records several occasions on which kings of ancient SriLanka held festivals connected with the Sacred Tooth Relic (*Daladā*) since the time the Sacred Tooth Relic was brought here from the kingdom of Kaliṅga. One early such *Daladā* festival held in the capital Anurādhapura has been most graphically described by the Chinese itinerant monk Fa-hsien. Fa-hsien who arrived in SriLanka almost at the beginning of the fifth century (merely a century after the Tooth Relic was brought to Sri-Lanka was an eye-witness to the celebrations associated with the Sacred Tooth Relic. Fa-hsien's observations of the *Daladā* festival is most important historically as it corroborates several other ancient records on the same event both by the chronicler as well as other early writers.

To quote Fa-hsien: "They always bring out the Tooth of the Buddha in the middle of the third month.[4] Ten days beforehand the king magnificently

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[3] *Daladāsirita*, ed. Velivitiye Sorata Nayaka Thera, Colombo, 1950, p. 53.

[4] If Fa-hsien's reckoning of the third month is counted from the beginning of the year according to the Buddhist calendar, it could be surmised that the Tooth Relic exposition during his time too was held in the month of Asala, that is the third month after *Vesak*.

caprisons a great elephant and commissions a man of eloquence and ability to clothe himself in royal apparel, and, riding on the elephant to sound a drum and proclaim as follows[5]—The Bodhisattva during three Asaṅkhyeya kalpas underwent every kind of austerity, he spared himself no personal sufferings, he left his country, wife and child, moreover he tore out his eyes to bestow them on another, he mangled his flesh to deliver a dove from the hawk, he sacrificed his head and arms, he gave his body to a famishing tiger, he grudged not his marrow or brain. Thus he endured every sort of agony for the sake of all flesh. Moreover when he became perfect Buddha, he lived in the world forty-nine years preaching the law and teaching and converting men. He gave rest to the wretched, he saved the lost. Having passed through countless births, he then entered Nirvāṇa. Since that event is 1497 years. The eyes of the world were then put out, and all flesh deeply grieved. After ten days the Tooth of this same Buddha will be brought forth and taken to the Abhayagiri Vihāra.[6] Let all ecclesiastical and lay persons within the kingdom who wish to lay up and store merit, prepare and smooth the roads, adorn streets and highways; let them scatter every kind of flower and offer incense in religious reverence to the Relic.

The proclamation being finished the king next causes to be placed on both sides of the procession-road representations of the five hundred bodily forms which the Bodhisattva assumed during his successive births.[7] For instance his birth as Sudhana, his appearance as Sama, his birth as the king of the elephants and as an antelope. These figures are all beautifully painted in diverse colours and have a very life-like appearance. At last the Tooth of the Buddha is brought forth and conducted along the principal road. As they proceed on the way, religious offerings are made to it. When they arrive in the Abhaya (i.e. Abhayagiri) Vihāra they place it in the hall of the Buddha, where the clergy and laity all assemble in vast crowds and burn incense and light lamps and perform every kind of religious ceremony both night and day, with-

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[5] This observation by Fa-hsien reminds one, of the present day practice of the character known as *Peramunerala,* who riding on an elephant in front of the Perahara announces its approach by reading out aloud a traditional document which he carries in his hands.

[6] This tallies with the account of the *Mhv.* according to which the *Daladā* (the Sacred Tooth Relic) was annually brought in procession from the Tooth-Relic temple to the Abhayuttara Vihāra; *Mhv.* 37.97.

[7] These were the Jātaka tales illustrated for the edification of the laity who throng the city to witness the great festival. Fa-hsien's remark also gives a clue to the high standard reached by the ancient Sinhalese in regard to the art of painting although documentary evidence is scarce today.

out ceasing. After ninety complete days they again return it to the Vihāra within the city"[8].

The *Mahāvaṃsa* records a great religious festival held by king Upatissa I (ca 460 A.D.) connected with the sacred religious objects, but it does not mention specifically the Sacred Tooth Relic in connection with this festival.[9] Since this religious festival was caused to be held with the object of averting a persistant drought, and the manner in which it was conducted is in agreement with the Daladā festivals described in the *Daladāsirita* and in other texts including the *Mahāvaṃsa* elsewhere, it could be surmised that the Sacred Tooth Relic that had already become part of the Sinhala monarch's palladium too had been associated with the ceremony instituted by king Upatissa I.

The taciturnity of the *Mahāvaṃsa* author on the Daladā festivals held by kings of Anurādhapura after the institution of such a festival by king Sirimeghavaṇṇa on receiving the sacred object from Kaliṅga kingdom could be the result of the Mahāvihāra bias towards its rival institution the Abhayagiri which was the centre of attraction on the occasion of Daladā festivals held in Anurādhapura, albeit, the *Mahāvaṃsa* records thus: "The king, his heart swelling with joy, spent nine hundred thousand kahapanas and arranged therewith a great festival for the Sacred Tooth Relic. He decreed that it should be brought every year to the Abhayuttara Vihāra (also known as Uttara-meghagiri or Abhayagiri Vihāra) and that the same sacrificial ceremonial should be observed."[10]

During the twelfth century king Parākramabāhu the Great of Polonnaruva, is said to have held a Daladā Festival when the Sacred Tooth Relic together with the Buddha's Bowl Relic (both of which have been regarded as palladia of the Sinhalese monarchs) was brought from Rohana to Polonnaruva (since their removal from Anurādhapura by the contenders of Rohana to the Southern principality).

This festival under the patronage of Parākramabāhu the Great is said to have lasted for seven nights.[11] During the period of the Dambadeniya kingdom king Parākramabāhu II (Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu I) had held several religious festivals in honour of the Daladā.[12] It is important to note that Tooth

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[8] Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Chinese Accounts of India, Calcutta edition, 1957, vol. I, pp. 48; see also *Mhv.* 37.92-97.

[9] *Mhv.* 37.189-197.

[10] *Mhv.* 37.96-97.

[11] *Mhv.* 74.181-248.

[12] *Mhv.* 82.8-16, 85.4-33, 93.109 ff., 87.6.

Relic festival held by king Parākramabāhu II of the Dambadeniya kingdom,[13] to ward off the evil effects that resulted in a drought, agrees in detail with the religious festival held by king Upatissa I on a similar occasion as referred to above.

Festival of the Sacred Tooth Relic was not forgotten during the trouble periods, when the Sinhalese monarchs had to shift their capitals from one place to another for the sake of better security. King Buvanekabāhu I (ca. 1272-1284 A.D.) of Yāpahuva (also known as Subhagiri) held a festival for the Sacred Relic before it was taken away to the Pāṇḍya capital (in South India) by the invading commander Āryacakkravartī of the Pāṇḍya king.

A more descriptive account of a Daladā Perahära is recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* during the time of king Parākramabāhu IV of the kingdom of Kurunegala (this king was also known as Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu II, ca. 1303-1333 A.D.): A festival glorious with flowers and perfumes and with lamps and incense provided with all foods soft and solid and with all that are drinks and sips, beautiful by the reverberating sound of the five musical instruments, fair through the dances and songs performed by the dancing girls and actors, giving delight to the world".[14] It is the same event that the king had decreed to be recorded in the treatise *Daladāsirita.*

The following kings of the Kotte period of SriLanka's history are mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as having venerated the Tooth Relic. King Buvanekabāhu V (ca. 1372-1408 A.D.),[15] and king Parākramabāhu VI (1412-1467 A.D.)[16] until the Sacred Relic was moved to its present resting place in Kandy during the reign of king Vimaladharamasūriya I (1592-1604 A.D.)[17]

Although not mentioned in the chronicles, probably because of his alienation of the bhikkhus, on many instances, king Rājasiṃha I of the kingdom of Sītāvaka too had the occasion of perpetuating the annual festivals in honour of the Sacred Tooth Relic. This king had held Daladā festivals with the annual parade in the province of Sabaragamuva, despite the fact that his reign was filled with incessant wars with the Portuguese.

During this period of national calamity and country-wide turmoil, the Sacred Tooth Relic was enshrined in the Delgamu Vihāra (near Ratnapura), having been removed from Kotte for the sake of better safety. The godhead

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[13] *Mhv.* 87.6.

[14] *Mhv.* 90.66-79.

[15] *Mhv.* 91.17-21.

[16] *Mhv.* 91.17-21 f.

[17] *Mhv.* 94.11 f.

that was associated with the Perahära festival of king Rājasiṃha's time was *Maha Saman* or *Saman*, whose fame is still found in the township of Ratnapura. The route of the festive parade (Perahära) was between the Delgamu Vihāra and the Saman Devālaya.

The king has appointed various dignitaries to be in charge of the religious functions of the Sacred festival and the two shrines, namely, the shrine of the Sacred Tooth Relic and the Maha Saman Devālaya.[18] What is most striking in these references to the Daladā Perahära held during the time of king Rājasiṃha of Sītāvaka (i.e. ca 16th century A.D.) is that the very pattern of the Perahära as found today, was enacted even at that time of the kingdom of Sītāvaka, although some writers hold that the pattern of today's Perahära is a relic of the Perahära initiated by the Nāyakkār king Kīrtiśrī Rājasiṃha. The primary divisions, *Kumbal* and *Randoli* of the Perahära, were apparently found even during the time of king Rājasiṃha of Sītāvaka, which indicates that these divisions of the Perahära complex claim a greater antiquity although their origin is shrouded in obscurity. It is also noteworthy that king Rājasiṃha I of Sītāvaka who was portrayed as a tyrant and a ruthless persecutor of Buddhism in certain mediaeval writings was, according to some other available Sabaragamuva documents, a monarch who had not failed in his duty to the religion of the Buddha. His benefactions to the cause of Buddhism were of equal merit when compared with the other contemporary monarchs although in the parochial writings of the bhikkhus the character of the king was depicted as a persecutor of Buddhism. This may be a result of his antagonising a good section of the bhikkhu community and his severe treatment meted out to them who probably would have plotted out to oust him.

After the establishment of an absolute Sinhala monarchy in Kandy by Vimaladharmasūriya I and the subsequent transfer of the royal palladia of the Sinhala kings to his capital, the great annual festive parade in honour of the *Daladā* has become the part of Kandy monarch's obligations both secular and sacred. Thus from his reign onwards all the kings who held sceptre in Kandy, had considered it a sublime duty more than perfunctory, to arrange and participate in the great pageant of the Sacred Relic in association with national gods and divinities. The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions a great Daladā Festival that was held by king Senerat, the brother and successor of king Vimaladharmasūriya, although it was silent of any such great pageant being held during the

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[18] Ven. Kirielle Gnanavimala thera, *The Ancient documents of Saparagamuva* (in Sinhala), Colombo 1942, pp. 45f.

reign of king Senarat's son and successor king Rājasiṃha II. However Robert Knox, the famous Englishman who wrote a book on Ceylon which was a narrative of events of the experiences of his miserable stay in SriLanka as a captive of this Kandyan monarch, writes about the annual festival held in Kandy during the month of Äsala, that is, June-July.[19]

Although in Knox's account no mention is made of the Sacred Tooth Relic in association with the festival held, it is unlikely that the Daladā was dissociated from the Äsala Festival during the reign of Rājasiṃha II. It could however, be conjectured, that the Relic was taken away to a place of greater security owing to constant enemy attacks on Rājasiṃha's capital and at the time of the festival to which Knox refers, it was still kept hidden away and was not thought discreet to be taken out for public exposition or parade.

His successors King Vimaladharmasūriya II (1687-1707 A.D.) and king Vīraparākrama Narendrasiṃha (1707-1739 A.D.) are reported to have held Daladā festivals.[20] According to the Chronicle, the Nāyakkar kings of Kandy too held such festivals, Śrī Vijaya Rājasiṃha (1739-1747 A.D.)[21], Kīrtiśrī Rājasiṃha (1747-1782)[22] and Rājādhi Rājasiṃha (1780-1798 A.D.)[23]. It is interesting to note that the chronicler refers to the Äsala festival instituted by Kīrtiśrī Rājasiṃha in connection with the Tooth Relic.[24] Although no reference is made of any Daladā Festival held during the reign of the last Nāyakkar monarch, Śrī Vikramarājasiṃha, in the Chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa*, a newly discovered document refers to several benefactions in the form of Daladā festivals instituted by the last king of the Sinhalese.[25]

DESCRIPTIVE

The Daladā Perahära is reckoned today as the grand national festival. Late Sir Richard Aluvihare who has written a monograph on this colourful event, refers to it subsequently during his tenure of office as the Ambassador of SriLanka in India, as a spectacle unheard in its grandeur anywhere in India

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[19] Robert Knox, *An historical relation of Ceylon*, ed. S. D. Saparamadhu, Tisara Press, Ceylon, 1966, pp. 148 ff.

[20] *Mhv.* 97.4; 97.25.

[21] *Mhv.* 98.38-39.

[22] *Mhv.* 99.42-65; 97.86.

[23] *Mhv.* 101.14.

[24] *Mhv.* 99.53-65.

[25] See N. Mudiyanse, A history of the Tooth Relic and glimpses into the Kandyan British relations in early 19th century, *The Buddhist*, YMBA, Colombo, vol. xliii, nos. 2-5, for 1972, pp. 124-131.

and this remark is truly a modest appraisal of the grand pageant that is Daladā Perahära.

The Daladā Perahära is inaugurated under the astrological auspices which provide the times for the various rites and rituals connected with it. The ritual proper begins with the planting of the *Kapa* stick. At an appointed auspicious moment announced by the chief astrologer of the *Daladā Māligāva* (the Temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic in Kandy), which normally falls a few days before the new moon of the Äsala month, the representatives of the four Devālayas (*Nātha, Viṣṇu, Kataragama* and *Pattini*) select a sapling of a tree that sheds milky sap, which often happens to be a Jak sapling (*Artocarpus integrifolia*)[26] which has not yet borne fruit. The ground around it is cleared before it is bathed with scented water, smeared with the specially prepared sandal and fumigated with burning resin. Flowers, betel and a lighted lamp are kept at the foot of the sapling and the deity whose abode perchance it may be is implored to leave. The tree is afterwards cut down and its trunk divided into four parts. These four parts are distributed among the four Devālayas. The fact that the Tooth Relic Temple does not receive any portion of the *Kap* sticks speaks well of its position *par excellence.*

The *Nātha Devālaya* gets the first part and *Viṣṇu, Kataragama* and *Pattini* Devālayas get the second, third and the fourth parts respectively, which is, incidentally, the order of arrangement of the Perahära when it parades the streets. Each piece called *Kapa* is carried in procession to the accompaniment of music and drumming and at the dawn of the new moon day of the Äsala month it is set up in a special corner of the Devālaya premises, that is within the courtyard adjoining the ante-chamber (formerly the *Kapa* sticks were planted outside in the open-air). A white canopy (Sinhalese : *Uduviyana*) is erected over the *Kapa* which is wrapped up in fresh white linen and the place decorated with flowers etc.[27]

The Perahära (festive procession proper) is formerly begun at this point of the erecting of *Kapa*. For five days from the planting of *Kapa* (in Sinhalese, *Kap siṭuvīma*) the *Kapurāla* (or the officiating priest of the Devālaya), who is a layman and has nothing to do with the Buddhist clergy) of each Devālaya

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[26] Some believe only a 'jak' sapling is used for the purpose, but it is found that any tree that sheds a milky sap could be used for the purpose.

[27] Robert Knox, op. cit, p. 149, where he mentions: "a painted stick, about which strings of flowers are hanged and so it is wrapped in branched silk, some part covered, and some not, before which the people bow down and worship". It would be interesting to trace the origin of the word *kap* in *kap-ruka* the wish yielding angelic tree.

perambulates the *Kapa* every evening. This he does having taken the sacred insignia of the gods (*āyudha*, literally: weapons—*devaṭṭhānāvuddhāni*)[28] to the accompaniment of drumming and music, flag and fly-whisk bearers and spearmen.[29] This is in actuality a Perahära in miniature which is confined to the courtyard of the four Devālayas. Hence called *Devāla Perahära.*

On the fifth day it issues into the streets, but still in a modest scale. A caparisoned elephant carrying a gilded howdah (in Sinhalese: *Ranhilige*) on its back in which is placed the insignia of the deity—the *āyudhas,* is conducted in procession accompanied by other caparisoned elephants, drummers, dancers and the Devāla chieftains known as *Basnāyaka Nilames.* This procession assembles in the evening in front of the Dalāda Māligava (the Temple of the Tooth Relic). The four Devāla Perahäras thus assembled await until the appointed auspicious hour when the Māligava tusker, gorgeously decked carrying a gilded howdah in which is placed the casket containing the Sacred Tooth Relic comes out with all pomp and grandeur to give lead to the four Devālaya Perahäras. This is called the *Kumbal Perahära.*[30]

Five days after the parading of the *Kumbal Perahära,* the *Randoli Perahära* begins,[?] which is the most elegant, colourful and glamorous version of the Daladā Perahära, the matrix of all Perahäras in SriLanka, today. This is actually an expanded version of the *Kumbal Perahära* to which is added the *Randoli* (golden palanquins) of the Devālayas. Randoli contains the ornaments of the deities, the sword and pitcher of each Devālaya. With the introduction of the golden palanquins, the Perahära is transformed into a great pageant whose splendour grows in intensity with each succeeding day.

The main attractions of this great pageant are the caparisoned elephants carrying bejewelled howdahs, and the gleaming dancers, drummers, bearers of *vilakku* (lighted torches), bearers of flags and banners, *kapurālas* (the officiating priests of the four Devālayas) and the *Basnāyaka Nilames* (the Chiefs of the Devālayas), headed by the *Diyavadana Nilame* (the highest official of the sacred Tooth Relic Temple). The trimmings and jewels of the garments in brocade and gold of the chiefs (*Nilames*) sparkle in the lights of the night.

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[28] Āyudha, lit. weapons, *devaṭṭhānāvuddhāni, Mhv.* 99.45.

[29] See *Sinhala Encyclopaedia,* ed. Prof. D.E.Hettiaratchi, Cultural Council of SriLanka, s.v. *Àsala Perahara.*

[30] In the former days a chief representative of the Kumbal (Potters) caste had to go in front of the Perahara, wearing a white cloth, and covering his head with a white turban, carrying in his hands two pots, accompanied by an acolyte who carried a pingo-load of pots, hence the name Kumbal Perahära (see *Sinhala Encyclopaedia,* loc. cit.).

First come the whip-crackers (*Kasakārayas*), making sounds like musket shots as if to give an allusion to the train of the Rain-God *Indra*, whose approach is heralded by the noise of thunder (which the great Indian poet Kālidāsa puts rhetorically—*taḍit-taḍidbhir* in his famous *Meghadūta* lyric) and flashes of lightening (the banners). The whip-crackers are followed by the bearers of banners and flags (*Koḍi-sesat*) on foot. Behind them mounted on an elephant rides a venerable figure, the *Peramunerāḷa* (Harbinger) who holds in his outstretched hands a palm-leaf book (wrapped in cloth) known as *lekammiṭi*, which contains the authority and directions to traverse the streets.[31] Drummers, dancers and musicians follow him. Next comes the *Gajanāyaka Nilame* (the keeper of royal elephants) mounted on an elephant, carrying a silver goad (*aṅkuśa*), the symbol of his office. Drummers, dancers and musicians follow again. At the next stage walks *Kāriyakaravanarāla*, who is preceded by numerous drummers and dancers and flanked by a short line of dancers (the name Kariyakaravanarāla signifies the officer in charge of the royal household). Behind him comes the tall tusker of the Daladā Māligāva, richly caparisoned—lovingly addressed by all as 'Rājā' (the king), truly a mighty beast. It alone walks on a cloth (*pāvaḍa*) spread on its path, as it carries in its howdah the golden casket containing the Sacred Relic of the Buddha, for the same reason a canopy (*viyana*) is held over the howdah and a minor officer mounted on the attendant elephants on either side throws jasmine flowers upon it while others fan it with fly-whisks (*cāmara*) made out of white yak tail. Next follows the train of *Diyavaḍana Nilame* (the chief lay custodian of the Sacred Tooth Relic), consisting of drummers, dancers and musicians. The aristocratic air of a feudal baron is well depicted in the demeanour of this chief Nilame, parading in his regal attire.

At the next stage walks the lay-priest (*Kapurāla*) of a *Devālaya* (one of the four fanes of the four gods referred to above), who is preceded by musicians, and drummers and flanked by short lines of dancers and followed by the richly decked elephant attached to his fane—first the *Nātha Devālaya* kapurāla and his entourage, then follow those of the *Viṣṇu*, *Kataragama* and *Pattini* Devālayas respectively. The gilded howdah on the elephants' backs contains the insignia (*āyudha*) of the deity. An attendant animal is on each side. The *Basnāyaka Nilame* (the leading lay officer in charge of the Devālaya) of each fane follows behind with a crowd of drummers and musicians and a long line of drummers forming an avenue for him.

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[31] Cf. the character of *Peramunerala* in the present day Perahära with the character, referred to by Fa-hsien in ancient times, who riding on an elephant announces the Daladā festival to the public.

The Diyavaḍana Nilame and all other chiefs (Basnāyaka Nilames) are dressed in unimaginable mediaeval costumes. Adorning their persons are jewelled dagger, sheaths, weighty necklaces and enormous rings studded with a welter of gems on fingers. A rich four-cornered hat of pin-cushion shape topped by a tiny gold tee, is worn on the head.[32] Last of all are borne the palanquins of each deity. By their side walk the only women, as it is their right in the capacity of servants (*devadāsī*) of the goddess *Pattini*. Pots with water taken in at the end of the previous year's rites are the only contents of the palanquins; devotees place offerings of money too in them.

On the final night the Perahära traverses the streets till dawn. This is the fifth day of the *Randoli Perahära*, which usually coincides with the Full-Moon day of the month of Äsala. Once the usual grand parade through the streets is over, they all reassemble and form into a procession towards the Asgiri Vihāra, where the casket containing the Sacred Tooth Relic is placed in the *Ādāhanamalu Gedige* Vihāra of the Asgiri chapter. Before dawn the officers of the four Devālayas bearing the insignia and the Randoli ride out to the river, the Getambe ferry of the Mahaväli river (at the north end of the University Campus, Peradeniya), where they take boat and wait in the middle of the river for dawn to appear. As soon as it does, the *Kapurāḷas*, drawing a circle in the water with their golden swords, empty the old water collected in a similar ceremony in the previous year and refil the pots from the cleaving. The *kap* sticks too are floated downstream. The water vessels and the swords are kept back in the *Randoli* (golden palanquins), before they proceed towards the city. On their way back they step at the *Gaṇeśa Kovil* (the shrine dedicated to God *Gaṇeśa* the brother of Skanda, according to Hindu mythology)[33], at the western entrance to the city, where the assembled crowds receive the blessings of the God.

The grand pageant is formally concluded with the 'Day Perahära', which commences from the *Ādāhanamalu Gedige* shrine where the *Māligāva* section of the Perahära awaits the return of the Devālaya Perahäras that have gone to the Getambe ferry for the water cutting (*Diyakäpuma*) ceremony. From the Ādahanamaluva temple the Perahära fully rearranged, then returns to the Māligāva compound, where at the prescribed auspicious moment the Sacred Relic Casket is installed in the sanctum of the Tooth Relic Temple. The four

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[32] D.T. Devendra, The Perahara, *Ceylon Today*, July 1963, pp. 9-10.

[33] An analysis of the cult of the local *god Kataragama* who is also known as *Mahasen* quite popularly, would tend to prove that *Gaṇeśa*, the brother of god Kataragama is of local origin, see A.D.T.E. Perera, Kuvera the god of treasures, *World Buddhism*, Vol. xxiii for August 1975.

Devālaya Perahäras which have joined the Māligāva Perahära in forming the Day Perahära, now return to their respective shrines.

Although the grand Perahära pageant is formally declared concluded, dancing, singing and drumming however, continue within the *Viṣṇu Devālaya* premises for seven days afterwards. They sing devotional songs beseaching the Gods' benevolence for any lapses which may have unwittingly occurred in the performance of the long ceremony. This particular rite that is performed for a week, is known as *Valliyak Näṭuma*, which is an adaptation of the ancient *Kohombākan-kāriya* ceremony.[34]

The above analysis of the Daladā Perahära is a general account of it as could be seen today. From earlier accounts it could be gathered that the *Daladā* Perahära of old, differs very much from its present-day pageant. An historical analysis would show that the *Daladā Perahära* has nothing to do with the customary Äsala Festivals of the people of SriLanka, although the *Daladā Pūjas* from the earliest times had coincided with the period of national festivity during the Äsala month.

The historian and the anthropologist, the antiquary and the sociologist and many such research students have found the opportunity to give various interpretations to the multifarious aspects of this grand pageant centered round the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha, and the diverse opinion expressed by them adds more to the grand forum of discussion made available on the singular topic—the *Daladā Perahära*.

CONSPECTUS

The Daladā Perahära celebrations held annually in Kandy, is generally taken by writers, as having assumed its present form during the time of king Kīrtiśrī Rājasiṃha of Kandy (1747-1782 A.D.), when that monarch wished to incorporate the Daladā festival along with the Äsala festival celebrations on the advice of the Mahāthera Saranaṅkara Sangharāja [35]

The customary annual celebrations held throughout the country in honour of local gods, headed by the patron god of the Sinhalese, namely God Upulvan, (*Uppalavanna* in Pāli) during the Äsala season is noteworthy. Robert Knox has categorically referred to this historical fact when he states: "but at the same time the like festival or Perahar is observed in diverse other cities and towns of

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[34] C.E. Godakumbura, Sinhala festivals, *JRAS* (Ceylon branch) for 1970, pp. 121, note 106; Id. *Kohombakankariya*, Colombo 1963, p. xviii.

[35] *Mhv.* 99.53-54.

the land".[36] These other places of importance are Mahiyangana, Kataragama, Devundara, Alutnuvara (in the Kegalle District), Kelaniya, Ratnapura (in the Sabaragamuva District). The gods who are held in high veneration at these sites are primarily Upulvan, Mahasen, Saman and Vibhisan, and also the female divinity, Goddess Pattini.

Modern writers on sociology and anthropology have given various interpretations to the origin and prevalence of this age-old Äsala festival in Sri-Lanka, a festival always held in association with the traditional godheads venerated by the population. But none seem to have been able to give any reasonable explanation of the problem of *deva-cults* of ancient Srilanka than trying to explain this festival of the Äsala month on the analogy of some legends connected with *Gajaba-Pattini* and such other mediaeval myths.[37]

There seems to be no attempt made by anyone to trace the pre-Buddhist cults and beliefs that had prevailed in the country or the prevalence of local Deva-cults of great antiquity, and their relationship to the Äsala seasonal festival, in their quest for the origin of the festival of gods in SriLanka celebrated in the particular month of Äsala from time immemorial.

In the supposed mythological section of the chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa*, that is, before the reign of king Devānampiyatissa, one could see glimpses of such local celebrations, which however have never been referred to by any writer in his explanation of the origin of the ceremonies and festivals of the common folk of SriLanka. Vestiges of folk lore that are connected with religious rites perpetuated annually at such festivals as those held in Kataragama (Mahasen God), Sabaragamuva (Maha-Saman God), Mahiyangana (God Mahasen), Devundara (God Upulvan) *et al.*, throw some light on this vexed problem. These sites have all a pre-Vijayan, proto-Siṁhala ancestry, hence the traditions associated with them could be related to the earliest strata of the island's inhabitants, that is, the Yakṣas, Nāgas *et al.* The cults of Mahasen (god Kataragama), Saman (Sumana of Sabaragamuva province), Upulvan (the god of Devundara), Vibhīṣaṇa (the god of Kelaniya) are of no recent origin. Upulvan appears in the *Mahāvaṃsa* narrative from the dawn of SriLanka's so-called Aryanised history. The reference to the god of Kataragama (ancient Kājaragāma) as Mahasen too needs critical inquiry and further elucidation as the fane of this god has been patronised by kings of SriLanka from the earliest times up to the

[36] Robert Knox, op. cit. p. 149.

[37] G. Obeysekera, On the Great tradition etc., *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. xxii no. 2, pp. 139-153.

period of Kotte and Kandy.[38] Although some scholars (Wilhelm Geiger and others) tried to super-impose Viṣṇu and other deities of the later Hindu pantheon on these local gods of SriLanka, recent investigations have enabled to negate their arguments in support of such views.[39] The gods of the Hindu pantheon hardly appeared in SriLanka till quite recently, and that too happened after the Cola conquests in the eleventh century. If there were influences at all from south Indian Hindu beliefs on local cults and practices prior to the rise of the Cola power, such influences would have been quite meagre as could be seen from available data.[40]

Annual celebrations of festivities in ancient SriLanka is recorded during the reign of King Pandukābhaya in the fourth century before the present era.[41] Two Yakkhas, probably deified ancestors, namely Cittarāja and Kālavela are specifically mentioned in regard to these annual festivals instituted by king Pandukābhaya.[42] The celebrations with which the Yakkha monarch of Sri-Lanka (namely Mahākālasena) and the first Buddhist monarch according to the chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* (namely king Devanampiyatissa) have associated themselves, too, fall somewhere around the months of June-July. The word pŏson when equated with *pajjota* signifies a water festival held by king Duṭṭhagāminī.[44] Poson too could be taken to mean the flowering season. Pŏson is also the name of the lunar month that preceds Äsala hence it is not difficult to trace at least a remote connection of Poson with the annual Äsala celebrations.

On the above analysis one could trace a local origin of the Äsala festival presently held throughout in SriLanka during the period just before the setting in of the annual rainy season (Vassāna). Such a surmise would be more

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[38] S. Paranavitana, *Glimpses of Ceylon's Past*, Colombo 1952, p. 139-153.

[39] See A.D.T.E. Perera, Upulvan the Patron God of the Sinhalese, *The Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science and Letters* (=*VJASL*), vol. iv, nos. 1 & 2, for 1971, published by the Vidyodaya University of SriLanka (now Vidyodaya campus of the University of SriLanka), pp. 88-104; Id. Kubera the god of treasures, *World Buddhism*, Vol. xxiii for 1975.

[40] A.D.T.E. Perera, A possible identification of a significant sculpture etc., *East and West*, IsMEO, Rome, Vol. 20 nos. 1-2, for 1970, p. 139, n. 58.

[41] *Mhv.* 10.86-88.

[42] Interesting it could be to trace the affinity between the names Cittarāja and Kālavela with Sumana and Mahasen the two important popular gods of SriLanka. *Citta* could be compared with *Mana* (cf. Su-mana); Mahasen is also referred to in variant forms like Mahākālasena; cf. also the epithet *Velayudha* of god Skanda-Kārtikeya, i. e. the Hindu version of god Mahasen of Kataragama fame.

[43] *Mhv.* 7.32 f; see Geiger's translation of same and note.

[44] See A.D.T.E. Perera, Parjanya and Agni, *JRAS*, op. cit, see also above note 1.

acceptable than any futile attempt to explain vaguely the meaning of the rituals, cults, practices and beliefs of a society that had cherished its traditions unbroken for many chilliads, probably with the dawn of human civilization.

The only alien item of the Daladā Perahära, which is also referred to as 'Äsala Perahära', is the presence of god Viṣṇu of the mediaeval Hindu pantheon. A historical analysis would show very clearly that the worship of Viṣṇu had been established very lately in SriLanka and the fane of Viṣṇu could not have existed in Kandy prior to the times of the Nāyakkar kings (ca 17th century). Robert Knox refers only to three gods, that is Alutneur Dio (i.e. *Upulvan*), Cotteragom Dio (i.e. *Mahasen*) and Potting Dio (i.e. *Pattini* or the female divinity). Alutnur Dio of Knox's reference is same as the god of Alutnuvara who is none other than the traditional patron god of the Sinhalese, that is god Upulvan.[45] It has now been established that Upulvan is primarily a non-Hindu god, if not, a Buddhist divine concept. It could also be conjectured that the *Viṣṇu Devale* in Kandy is an appropriation of the original Upulvan shrine by the Vaiṣṇava Hindus from South India who became powerful in the Kandy court after the sixteenth century.

The identification of God Kataragama with Mahasen, takes the history of this puissant local god to several centuries before the establishment of Hindu cults in SriLanka, and his association with the Buddhist rulers precludes all doubts of his local origin. There is other evidence which would decisively prove that god Kataragama is not a member of the Hindu pantheon (e.g. *Kārtikeya*). Evidence is enough to show the instances where the local god Pattini (lit. spouse; in Buddhist tradition *Śakti*) has been wrongly identified with the so-called fierce divinity of supposed south Indian origin, as found in the polemic *Silappadikāram*. Such attempts to trace south Indian or Hindu influence on the origin of the Äsala Perahära, its rites, the divinities associated with it and the observances etc., by several writers have seemingly been encouraged by the presence of *Viṣṇu* in the Kandyan pantheon and also by such attempts of some writers on sociology to relate the *Kap* and *Diyakäpuma* ceremonies with *Pattini* and *Gajabā* myths.[37] It is not unlikely that *Pattini* cult as the spouse of a terrible aspect of one of these fierce Mahāyāna gods had reached south India from Anurādhapura, at a time when religion and politics of the Anurādhapura kingdom were dominating enough to influence her weaker neighbours—the

[45] Cf. Nātheśvara shrine built by Vīraparākrama Narendrasiṁha, *Mhv.* 97.46, and Robert Knox, op. cit, p. 150; see further A.D.T.E. Perera, Upulvan etc., *VJASL*, op. cit; see also S. Paranavitana, The shrine of Upulvan, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, vol. vi, Oxford, 1953.

kingdoms of South India. Whatever the case may be, Pattini's Buddhist affiliations are not much to be doubted.

Other than the *Viṣṇu* cult that had been assimilated, probably owing to the Dravidian influence in the Kandyan court in and after the 16th century, whatever traces of alien elements in the ceremonies and rituals connected with the *Daladā Perahära* are too infinitesimal for one to look for extraneous influences on this grand pageant of the Sinhala Buddhists.

The symbolism that pervades every activity of the Daladā Perahära from the original *Kap* planting ritual to the final *Diyakäpuma* ceremony is now shrouded in obscurity. It could be difficult for anyone to give a correct interpretation of these symbolic rites and cults of ancient SriLanka, that are of remote origin but are found today in vestiges in the annual ceremonies and festivals of the Sinhalese. To propound theories on mere surmises and interpret these very theories on western anthropologists' view-points in a bid to explain the variegated aspects of the *Daladā Perahära* would in no way help to clear anything beyond complicating further the facts about this grand pageant.

RINCHEN, ULANBATOR (MONGOLIA)

LITERARY TREASURES OF THE STATE LIBRARY OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLES' REPUBLIC

The State Library of Ulanbator, founded by the Committee of Sciences of the MPR over fifty years back, has become the richest collection of Mongolian and Tibetan books and manuscripts, many of which are unique.

Tens of thousands of Mongolian manuscripts are extraordinarily divergent in their contents, representing a high culture of our people, who were able to preserve it during the most difficult centuries of Manchurian yoke, when nobody cared about the education of the people and the policy of the Manchurian conquerors did everything to introduce the Manchurian script in the Government and the Tibetan in religious literature and excluded the Mongolian national script and literature of every significance. But inspite of it, it existed in the people and competed with the hundreds and thousands of typographies of the monasteries and thousands of national students learnt it in their yurts, and from their ranks came the translators contemporary to Pushkin and Lermentov, perfect masters of the Chinese literary language, who by their unknown labours, enriched their literature with beautiful translations.

These translations were copied and recopied by hands and multi-volume works spread throughout the country, making quite a treasure of folklore that maintained its existence from mouth to mouth by re-telling of stories that enriched the fantasies of the popular story tellers, a phenomena which is still unnoticed.

The wonderful novels of Pu-sun-lin, the collection of fine novels Tsingu Tsiguan, romance about 'The Three Kingdoms', the philosophical romance 'A Journey to the West' (an episode of which, for example, about the adventures of the Monkey King does not disappear from the stage of Peking and owing to the travels of the theatrical artists to the European countries now have become well known also outside China), romance 'The Dream in Red Tower', criminal novel about the wise judge Shi Mergen Noyan, the fascinating and enthralling novel about the monk Chi Dyan, the classical book of verses by Shitzin and other masterpieces of Chinese literature having been translated in the Mongolian language by unknown and brilliant stylists in a masterful manner, surpassing the charm of the original. All this shows the refined literary taste of the Mongolian people and immense popularity of these masterpieces of Chinese literature.

If you happen to stop in any yurt which you meet first falling on your way

in the vast steppes, where the night may overtake you before the fire of a hearth you will hear from the mouth of an old shepherd the philosophical poem Bodhicaryāvatāra composed by the famous Indian poet and thinker Śāntideva, well-known to the European through the beautiful French translation by Finot and translated into the Mongolian language already in the 13th century, you will not be surprised if an old shepherd sitting thoughtfully on the hillock grazing herds, having come to know you to be a philologist will enter into animated conversation with you regarding the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini which was translated into the Mongolian language already in the 17th century, the level of which was achieved by the European linguists only during the last century. The full translation of the work of Pāṇini appeared in French only in 1948.

The library has many works that were preserved in boxes darkened by age, including the manuscript and xylographed 108 volumes of the KANJUR, the translation of which was started by the Mongols in the 14th century and finished in the 17th century. The pride of the library is 226 volumes of the Mongolian TANJUR printing of which was completed in the 18th century. KANJUR and TANJUR contain the works of Indian and Tibetan authors on philosophy, logic, medicine, grammar, art and literature: for example the famous poem of Kālidāsa *Meghadūta* (The Cloud Messenger) that enjoyed in ancient Mongolia no less popularity than the poem Bodhicaryāvatāra by Śāntideva.

Thousands of ancient Mongolian manuscripts and chronicles of the 17th & 18th centuries are still lying on shelves awaiting their turn for research. Tens of Mongolists, specialists in Mongolian palaeography, philology, linguistics and history of literature could work tens of years in this library to study all that what is preserved in its depositories in addition to what is in the possession of arats (working peasants).

Even a cursory look at the department of the Mongolian manuscripts of the library eloquently speaks of the intensive work of the translation of Chinese literature which did not stop in northern Mongolia till the year 1921 and subsequently ever since the foundation of the Committee of Sciences the best experts of Chinese, Tibetan and Manchurian languages were attracted to the task of the translation of historical works.

Even the late Sinologist Danda, member of the Committee of Sciences of the MPR, finished the translation of *Yuan-shi* from Chinese into Mongolian in 1927—the history of the Mongolians in China composed by the scholars of the Ming dynasty on the basis of real and official material on the Mongolians during the Yüan dynasty. And, if Russian Sinology considers the translation of

the different portions of *Yuan-shi* into the Russian language as its outstanding achievement and while translation of its certain chapters began to appear at the end of first half of the 20th century in French which made the world literature acquainted with the most important and original source which made it possible to judge the economic structure and culture of the Mongolian government of the Yüan epoch. The complete translation of *Yuan-shi* was made after the peoples' revolution, which should be regarded as an outstanding event for scholars engaged on the history of Mongolia but who do not know Chinese. It is, however, lamentable that these manuscripts have not been published as yet.

A member of the Committee of Sciences, and a brilliant Manchu specialist the late Batu-ocher translated from the Manchurian originals several multi-volume works on the history of Mongolia by the Manchus including the translation of number of original documents not yet known to Mongolists. The publication of these works shall be a contribution to Mongolian science, and to Mongolistics throughout the world.

Among the most ancient manuscripts occupying the place of pride in this State Library, it may be mentioned are the Sanskrit manuscripts of the 11th century: Ārya-Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā, embellished with multi-colour miniatures. This manuscript written on palm-leaves has the autographs of its former masters of the 14th century, the scholars Dzhanchubdsemo and Mkhas-grub chos-rje a disciple of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the Founder of the Yellow-Hat sect. This is one of the ancient Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the monastic libraries of Northern Mongolia constituting a great interest for Sanskrit scholars.

In the State Library are preserved many unique manuscripts in calligraphic hand on the first and last pages, which are mounted on the boards of precious wood, ornamented with carvings and precious stones chased with gold and silver representing the masterpieces of the art of jewellery of the people, skilled craftmanship at the end of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century. These unique collections speak about the great love of the people for books representing the workmanship of many talented masters of making artistic books.

Tens of thousands of manuscripts and xylographs are preserved in the library including treasures of Indian literature many of which are now lost in India during the Muslim and British rules and which can now only be restored from these translations in Mongolian.

VALENTINA STACHE-ROSEN, BANGALORE

SURVIVAL OF SOME ANCIENT FORMS OF AUDIO-VISUAL EDUCATION IN PRESENT-DAY INDIA

The majority of the Indian people were illiterate in the past, yet they were not uninformed. Even without scholastic education people were taught the principles of Hindu dharma through the recitation of the scriptures in the temples. Inscriptions show that endowments were made to temples for the recitation of the epics, the purāṇas and other religious texts.[1] Even today, such religious discourses are very popular, especially in Tamilnadu. Speaking of the Harikathā Kalakshepam, Laksmanan Chettiar says: "This art of extempore story telling was introduced into Tamilnadu by the Mahratta rulers of Thanjavur. The themes are taken from the epics and the purāṇas. One has just to look at the "Today's Engagement Columns" in an English or Tamil daily to know what is going on every evening on the temple grounds. For days together, discourses on the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Periya Puranam and the Kanda Puranam go on and the crowds are vast and regular. These discourses are the universities of the unlettered."[2]

Apart from discourses, other story tellers made use of visual means in order to impart religious instructions to their audience.

The earliest reference to these picture showmen is found in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. Discussing the historic present in Pāṇini 3.1.26 he says: *atrāpi yuktā / katham / ye tāvad ete Śaubhikā nāmaite pratyakṣaṃ Kaṃsaṃ ghātayanti pratyakṣaṃ ca Baliṃ bandhayantīti / citreṣu katham / citreṣv apy udgūrṇa nipatitāś ca prahārā dṛśyante Kaṃsakarṣaṇyaś ca / granthikeṣu kathaṃ yatra śabdagaḍumātraṃ lakṣyate / te 'pi hi teṣām utpattiprabhṛty ā vināśād ṛddhīr vyācakṣaṇāḥ sato buddhiviṣayān prakāśayanti / ātaś ca sato vyāmiśrā hi dṛśyante / kecit Kaṃsabhaktā bhavanti kecid Vāsudevabhaktāḥ / varṇānyatvaṃ khalv api puṣyanti / kecid raktamukhā bhavanti kecid kālamukhāḥ /* H. Lüders takes the Śaubhikas to be shadow players, who explain the killing of Kaṃsa and the binding of Bali, who are present before the eyes. The Granthikas, according to him, are narrators who discuss the fate of Kaṃsa and Bali from the beginning to the end and make them appear as present in the imagination of the audience, some of whom take the part of Kaṃsa, others of

[1] V. Raghavan, Methods of popular Religious Instruction in South India, The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 504, Ramakrishna Mission, Calcutta 1969.

[2] S.M.L. Lakshmanan Chettiar, Folklore of Tamilnadu, New Delhi 1973, p. 161.

Vāsudeva. This is shown by a change in their complexion, some become red in their face, others black.[3]

The passage referring to pictures says: "How about the pictures ? In the pictures the beating and the dragging about of Kaṃsa are to be seen."

Lüders, Hillebrand and Coomaraswamy have supposed that this refers to the practise of people, who explain pictures for a living, using the historical present in their spoken words.[4] For the picture showmen, Lüders refers to the maṅkhas mentioned in Kalpasūtra 100 who were mendicants showing pictures: *maṅkhāś citraphalakahastā bhikṣakā gaurīputrakā iti prasiddhāḥ.*[5]

A. K. Coomaraswamy has collected a number of literary references concerning people who exhibited pictures. In the first act of Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa, Nipuṇaka, in order to spy for Cāṇakya disguises himself as a man showing pictures of Yama and the punishments in hell. A Yamapaṭṭaka appears in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita "In the bazaar street amid a great crowd of inquisitive children he observed an Inferno-showman (yamapaṭṭaka), in whose left hand was a painted canvas stretched out on a support of upright rods and showing the Lord of the Dead mounted on his dreadful buffalo. Wielding a reed wand in his other hand, he was expounding the features of the next world, and could be heard to chant the following verses:

Mothers and fathers in thousands, in hundreds children and wives,
age after age have passed away, whose are they and whose art thou?[6]

Until quite recently, the exhibition of pictures was popular in India. Like other forms of religious folk entertainment, as for instance puppet shows and shadow plays these performances are less in demand now that the cinema attracts the rural population. There are still several groups of picture showmen in India, but due to lack of patronage, it is to be feared that their art will not survive for long.

In Bengal, patuas or chitrakars are found in Western and Eastern Bengal, and a few only in the Northern parts of Bangladesh and West Bengal.[7] Accord-

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[3] H. Lüders, Die Śaubhikas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas, Philologia Indica, 1940, p. 407.

[4] A. K. Coomaraswamy, Picture Showmen, Indian Historical Quarterly V(1929).182.

[5] H. Lüders, op. cit., p. 414.

[6] A. K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 185.

[7] A detailed list is found in Sankar Sen Gupta, The Patas of Bengal in General and Secular Patas in Particular" in: The Patas and Patuas of Bengal, ed. Sankar Sen Gupta, Calcutta 1973, p. 71. An interview with a number of patuas is found in the same work. See Prabhodh Kumar Das, Face to Face with the Patuas, and Rabindranath Ganguly, Jogen Patua, an Intimate Exposition, pp. 107-126. See also Bholanath Bhattacharya, Krishna in the

ing to Bholanath Bhattacharya, the patuas as a class are still to be found at almost every important commercial centre in the rural or semi-urban places.[8] The patuas unable to make a living only by painting pictures and exhibiting them have taken to other occupations like image making, snake charming and working as labourers. It seems that in the past too they relied on other work for their income besides their art. Bhenoy Bhattacharya collected information from about 1000 patuas and came across 117 types of occupation in addition to painting and singing.[9]

The patuas who paint the pictures and the ones who got about from house to house exhibiting the pictures and singing are not always the same people. In a very rare case a single patua performs all the three types of work.[10]

The pats may be classified according to their size and the subjects depicted. The chaukash is a square or rectangular painting with one picture. The jarano or latai pat is a scroll painting showing one story, subdivided into rectangular panels depicting various episodes of that story. Classifying the pats according to subjects, one finds secular and religious pats. To the latter category belong not only Hindu pats, but also Christian and Muslim pats.[11] Stella Kramrisch, discussing these paintings, says : "Tribal and village traditions comingle in the painted scrolls. The various schools represented by paintings from different centres carry on each the style created by a local master painter. Some of the earlier scrolls (ca 1800) show an awareness of Rajput and Mughal types, though these are recast consistent with a deeper tonality, avoidance of suggestions of the third dimension and a calmly flowing line. Scrolls painted in Hooghly call to mind qualities of Etruscan painting. Later in the nineteenth and in the twentieth century, different "schools" can be localised. The burnt-sienna and indigo-blue tonality of scrolls from Manbhum, Purulia, West Bengal, holds pent-up emotion packed in dense, contiguous compositions floating in broad, curvilinear rhythms. This "school" is easily distinguished from the archaic, arrested gestures, tensely planar composition and strong, quiet colours of the Hooghly paintings or from the lyrical, voluble style of many degrees, on white or red ground of the Midnapur paintings where large figures crown the scroll. The subjects painted illustrate Hindu myths. A cycle which kept its popularity over the last thousand years and more are the yama patas, the paintings of the

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Traditional Painting of Bengal, Calcutta 1972, p. 35.

[8] Bholanath Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 35.

[9] Sankar Sen Gupta, op. cit., p. 64 and 21.

[10] Sankar Sen Gupta, op. cit., p. 50.

[11] Bholanath Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 25.

rewards of good and evil to be experienced in the realm of Yama, the Lord of Death."[12]

The jadu patuas practised magic with their paintings, which they took to the tribal Santhals and Bhumijs. They visited families in which a relative had died and showed them portraits, telling them that the dead would wander blindly in the other world until eyesight was given them by the jadu patua.[13]

Among the Islamic pats, the Gazi pat narrates the fight between a dervish and a tiger worshipping Hindu king of the Sunderbans. The Pir pat deals with Satya Pir, a maritime god worshipped by Hindus and Muslims alike.[14]

A number of rural patuas settled in Calcutta at the beginning of the 19th century.[15] The growth of Calcutta as a large industrial city and the Kali temple, which attracted large crowds of pilgrims were the two factors which motivated the patuas. In Calcutta, they were influenced by British paintings. Instead of the traditional vegetable and mineral colours, they began using water colours. Another innovation was the shading of contours in a way which stands in contrast to indigenous works. The pictures made for sale to pilgrims showed religious subjects. The goddess Kali was the most prominent of the gods represented. The earlier pictures executed between 1840 and 1860 are often painted over lithographed outlines. As the school further developed after 1850, British influences weakened. The figures appear more rounded on account of the skilful gradations of tone used in shading. From 1870 onwards, secular pats criticizing the Westernised babu appeared, and contemporary scandals were executed in the paintings. According to Archer, the last phase of Kalighat painting occurred in the years 1885-1930. Bold simplifications continued to be the rule, and in a desperate attempt to cheapen production, line drawings and tinted woodcuts were also produced.

Plate 1 is an example of Kalighat painting. The black-faced goddess Kali has a third eye on her forehead, and her tongue is sticking out. As the picture is damaged, the arms are missing. In all probability the goddess held a scimitar and a severed head in her left hands.[16] The crown and the other jewellery is outlined in silver.

In Maharashtra, there is another group of picture-showmen, the Chitra-

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[12] Stella Kramrisch, Unknown India. Ritual Art in Tribe and Village, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1968, p. 71.

[13] Stella Kramrisch, op. cit., p. 71 and Bholanath Bhattacharya, op.cit., p. 25.

[14] Bholanath Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 25.

[15] The following account is based on W.G. Archer, Kalighat Paintings, London 1971.

[16] Compare pl. 16 in Archer, op. cit.

kathis. The Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency report on their religious beliefs and social customs, but little is said about their pictures and their performances.[17] At the end of the 19th century, these picture showmen were found in the districts of Satara, Ahmadnagar, Poona and Bijapur. They resembled the Mahrattas in dress and language. When settled, they lived in wattled huts thatched with grass, and when travelling, they lived in small tents. In Poona district, the chitrakathis stated that during the time of Shahu Raja (1708-49) they migrated from Signapur in Sholapur district to Poona. In former times they also performed with wooden marionettes, but as these were no longer popular, they only showed pictures, earning four to five rupees per month. Like the patuas, they seem to have had other occupations as well. Boys were taught to exhibit pictures at the age of twelve and were proficient in the art after two years. A chitrakathi had to have 40 pictures of Rama, 40 of Harischandra, king of Oudh, 35 of Babhruvahana, Arjuna's son by Chitrangada, 35 of Ahhimanyu, Arjuna's son by Subhadra, 40 of Sita and Ravana and 40 of the Pandava brothers. The chitrakathis painted the pictures themselves. According to a caste rule, each family had to possess a complete set of pictures or else pay a fine.

The Raja Kelkar Museum, Poona, possesses several sets of paintings, which were collected by an advocate from Paithan and were therefore named Paithan paintings. The Craft Museum in New Delhi has another set. A search for the descendants of the picture showmen mentioned in the Gazetteers would most likely bring to light more of these paintings.

H. Meinhard, discussing the reports of the Gazetteers, regrets that they do not make it clear what their shows were like.[18] In South East Maharashtra, the author came across a group of picture showmen. They said their ancestors had migrated from Rajasthan to northern Maharashtra five hundred years ago. Shivaji used the picture showmen as spies, and under the Peshwas, they moved further South.

While showing the pictures, a performer squats on the ground. A wooden board the size of the pictures, approximately 30 x 40 cm is propped against his knee, and a piece of cloth rolled up in front of the board prevents the pictures from slipping. A set of pictures is wrapped up in cloth and such a bundle is

[17] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Satara, Vol. XIX, Bombay 1885; Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Ahmadnagar, Vol. XVII, Bombay 1884; Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Poona, Vol. XVIII, pt. 1, Bombay 1885.

[18] H. Meinhard, The Javanese Wayang and its Indian Prototype, Man, a Monthly Record of Anthropological Science, Vol. 39, London 1935, article 94.

called a pothī or book. Two pictures are pasted together, which makes them stronger and also makes it quicker to change from one scene to the other. In some cases, one scene only is represented on a picture, in others two scenes are shown. Depending on the sequence of the pictures, the first scene is either on the right or left hand side of a painting. On a front page, scene one will be on the right side, scene two on the left. On the reverse side, the first scene will be on the left and the second on the right. As the pictures are handled on the top in the centre, most of them are damaged.

Two performers sing and recite the stories, using tambura and damaru or tala for the musical accompaniment.

The pictures which these chitrakathis had were of different quality and it was quite obvious, that they were painted by different artists. They did not know who painted them, and nobody in the community paints pictures nowadays. The younger generation knows the stories, but has no interest in exhibiting the paintings and telling the stories. The chitrakathis said they had 50 sets of pictures illustrating episodes from either Mahābhārata or Rāmāyaṇa. These stories seem to be folk tales which are only vaguely connected with the epics known in classical literature. One of the stories I was told is the Ankuśa-Lava-kathā, the stories of Rāma's two sons. According to this version, Kaikai (Kaikeyī) asked Sītā to paint a picture of Rāvaṇa. Sītā at first refused to do so, but on Kaikai's insistence, she painted Rāvaṇa's thumb, and Kaikai completed the picture. Kaikai promised to hide the picture, but showed it to Rāma on his return. Rāma was furious and ordered Lakṣmaṇa to take Sītā to the forest and kill her. Sītā took leave of her companions and told them she was visiting her parents. Lakṣmaṇa left Sītā in the forest and asked a carpenter to carve an arm, which he showed to Rāma, together with the eyes of a deer, as a proof that Sītā had been killed. Sītā stayed with an old sage (Vālmīki) in a hermitage and gave birth to a son, whom she called Ankuśa. One day, Sītā went to the river and saw a young monkey playing in the trees. Sītā told the monkey's mother the baby might fall into the river. The monkey replied she would get her baby out, whereas Sītā, who had left her baby in the care of the old man would not know what happened to him. Sītā thereupon returned to the hermitage and found the sage sleeping. She took her baby with her, and the monkey, who was an apsara under a curse, regained her original form at the sight of Rāma's son. When the sage woke up and found the baby gone, he created a baby out of grass and named it Lava. Ankuśa and Lava grew up together in the hermitage. The two boys were very mischievous. One day they saw Ekashringa (Ṛṣyaśṛṅga) doing penance. They killed him and took

him to the sage. Ankuśa and Lava one day attacked the guardians of Rāma's palace. When Rāma intended to perform a horse sacrifice, the two boys took away the horse. A battle ensued. Rāma, who was not able to win, was told by Vālmīki that the two young heroes were his sons. Rāma, Sītā and their sons became united.

Some elements of this story, the aśvamedha, the fight between Rāma's army and Rāma's son and the family reunion is found in Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita. Mention is made in this drama of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, who did penance for twelve years, but it is not said that he was killed by Rāma's sons.

The story of a sage creating Sītā's second child is current in SriLanka. According to this version, Sītā lived with saint Valamiga (Vālmīki) in a hermitage, where she gave birth to a son, Sandalingu. The saint, thinking he had lost the child entrusted to his care, created a child from a flower. When Sītā did not believe this, he created a third boy from grass.[19] In an article on the Ramayana in Burma, U Thein Han says: The Burmese Uttarakanda is enriched by the second banishment of Sita for drawing the portrait of Dasagiri (Ravana). In Rama Thonmyo of 1904 and Alaung Rama Thyagyin of 1905 is inserted the miraculous creation of Kutha (Kuśa). In these three works, the story ends with the second reunion of Rāma and Sītā."[20]

One of the chitrakathi's Mahābhārata episode concerns the fight between Karṇa and Arjuna which, however, makes up only a minor part of the story. After Ghaṭotkaca had been killed in a fight with Karṇa, the Pāṇḍavas decided that Arjuna should fight Karṇa. Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna's charioteer, made a wheel of Karṇa's chariot stick in the mud. While Karṇa was trying to get the wheel out of the mud, Arjuna killed him on Kṛṣṇa's advice. Kṛṣṇa assumed the shape of a brahmin in order to see whether Karṇa was dead. The brahmin asked the dying man for a gift and Karṇa knocked out the gold in his mouth with a stone. Kṛṣṇa was pleased, appeared in his divine form and granted a boon to Karṇa. Karṇa asked for mokṣa. Kṛṣṇa thereupon took a sword and cut Karṇa into two pieces. One piece became a man, Sriya, the other a woman, Changunā. From the bits of flesh sticking to the sword, Kṛṣṇa created a small child, Chillaya. Sriya became king of Kanchanpur. He distributed free food to everybody, and he hung up a pair of sandals and a cowrie shell above the entrance door. Narada saw this and reported it to Śiva. Śiva, in order to test Sriya, descended on earth and asked Sriya for food cooked from his son

[19] Information received from Prof. Dr. H. Bechert, Göttingen.

[20] U Thein Han, The Ramayana in Burma, Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, vol.2, New Delhi 1973.

Chillaya. Sriya and his wife followed all the instructions about the slaughter and cooking of their son. After the preparations were completed, Śiva refused to eat with a childless couple. Sriya, quite perplexed, was asked by a voice from heaven to go to the tulsi tree and call for his son, who then came running to him. Śiva assumed his original shape and the whole city of Kanchanpur was transposed to mount Kailās.

Plate 2 is an example of one of the cruder paintings of the chitrakathis. It shows Kumbhakarṇa sleeping, and the demons, who look like monkeys, hovering over him. A small canon on the giant's body is directed at his mouth. Kumbhakarṇa's enormous body fills almost the whole space, there is neither shading nor perspective.

Plate 3 depicts a scene from the fight between Arjuna and Karṇa. Arjuna is about to shoot with his bow. Karṇa, already pierced by three arrows, has fallen back on his chariot, the top of which is falling off. Kṛṣṇa sits on the shaft of Arjuna's chariot. The stiff figure of Hanumān is to represent Arjuna's flag. Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa are shown in three-quarter profile, a rare occurrence on Paithan paintings.

On Plate 4 a performance of two chitrakathis is seen. A black cloth rolled up before the pictures prevents them from slipping. The two preceding paintings belong to these chitrakathis, the following ones are from the collection of Mr. Kelkar and belong to the story of Ankuśa and Lava. The compositions are well balanced and are full of charm and beauty.

Plate 5 shows Sītā in the forest after she has been banished. The trees have turned into women, and monkeys and deer have come to console her.

On plate 6 two incidents are depicted. On the left are Ankuśa and Lava, who have noticed Ekashringa sitting on a pillar top. The right is a continuation of this episode, and Rāma's two sons are shooting the unicorn saint with their arrows. Ekashringa is now sitting on a different pillar. An ornamental palm tree and two other trees drawn in a more realistic manner fill in the empty spaces. On the preceding picture, the faces of the women are alternately blue and white. The blue colour of one of the boys on this plate is not meant to indicate that he is Rāma's son. The blue boy's trousers have yellow and red stripes on the left scene, green and white ones in the right hand scene. The Unicorn too has changed his costume in the second scene, and he is bleeding profusely from his head and chest.

Preparations for war are shown on plate 7. A groom is holding a red and a blue horse. A man in the top left corner beats a drum while another man on the left blows a trumpet. The spirited movement of the horses are the

difficulty the groom has in holding them are well depicted, and the picture conveys the atmosphere of bustle and excitement. Two small dogs with long ears fill in the space between the horse's legs.

Red and blue are the colours predominantly used in the Paithan paintings. Other elementary colours are yellow, green and black. Legs and faces of the figures are shown in profile, chests in front view. Shading and perspective are absent.

P. J. Chinmulgund, who published another set of Paithan paintings said: "Though it is difficult at this stage to analyse with precision the style of these paintings, there is a certain similarity between them and illustrations in the Jain manuscripts of the 16th and 17th century, and contemporary Rajasthani rural art. On the other hand, the drapery and the kiritas (crowns) which the figures use in these pictures recall certain temple paintings of South India."[21] One may add that the Paithan paintings have a number of features in common with the shadow play puppets of Karnataka.

The Chitrakathis of Maharashtra and the Patuas of Bengal are not the only picture showmen. The Yamapaṭṭaka, who exhibits pictures of scenes from hell and the punishment of evil doers is still to be found in South Indian temples. Painting pictures to illustrate stories or as momentos to pilgrims was prevalent all over India. The Orissa pats are well known and this art is practised in Puri to this day. In the Punjab too, picture showmen must have existed in the 19th century. Plate 8 and 9 show two lithographs on printed Railway forms. That of plate 9 is dated 22nd January 1877, the other one is blank. These pictures, together with several others were acquired by the author's grandfather, Dr. Friedrich Rosen in 1885 or 1886, probably in Amritsar. Plate 8 shows Rāma fighting Rāvaṇa. In the top right hand corner, Sītā and Trijaṭā sit outside a pavillion behind a wall. On plate 9, Rāma holds the head of the wounded Lakṣmaṇa in his lap, while Hanumān comes flying through the air carrying mount Sanjīvani. Hanumān is also seen at the bottom of the picture, holding a cup with medicine.

Pictures from this collection are illustrations of Panjabi folk tales like Sohni and Mahiwal, portraits of Ranjit Singh and other Sikh nobles, the execution of the Sufi saint Mansur al Hallaj, who was impaled at Baghdad in 922 A.D. for his utterance Ana'l-Haqq 'I am the Truth', which was considered a blasphemy by the orthodox Ulema. Another sequence shows a young woman taking off her slipper, catching hold of an old man by his beard and beating him.

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[21] P. J. Chinmulgund, Paithan Paintings, The Times of India Annual, 1962, p. 70.

The bhopas of Rajasthan have either scrolls or wooden boxes with folding doors called Kavad.[22] Colourful figures of gods and goddesses, men and animals are painted on the folding doors on a red background. The Rajasthani scrolls are fixed between two poles when a bhopa gives a performance. He sings and mimes the story, while his wife illuminates the scenes with a lamp.[23] The stories popular with the Rajasthani audiences are those of legendary heroes like Pabuji, Devnarayan and Ramdala. The Rajasthani pats show all episodes of one story on one picture. Scene follows upon scene without any dividing line in between. The Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandal of Udaipur has attempted to use this form to tell the story of Mahatma Gandhi to rural audiences. It is to be hoped that these ancient forms of audio-visual education will continue in future.

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[22] Husbands or wives resorting to force were subjects often depicted by the Kalighat painters, see Archer, op. cit., p. 11.

[23] Shyam Parmar, Traditional Folk Media in India, New Delhi, 1975, p. 79.

[24] Shyam Parmar, op. cit., p. 79.

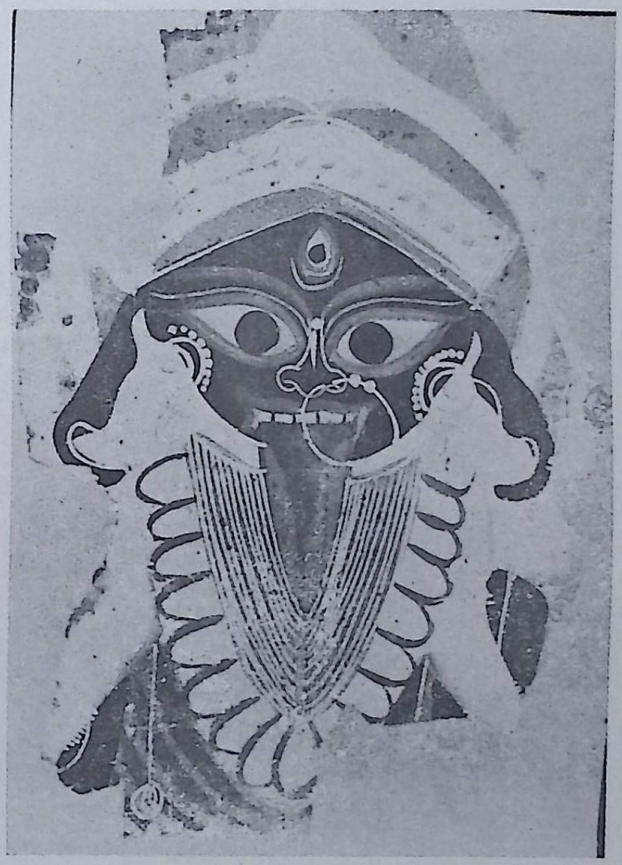

Plate 1. Kālī from Kalighat.

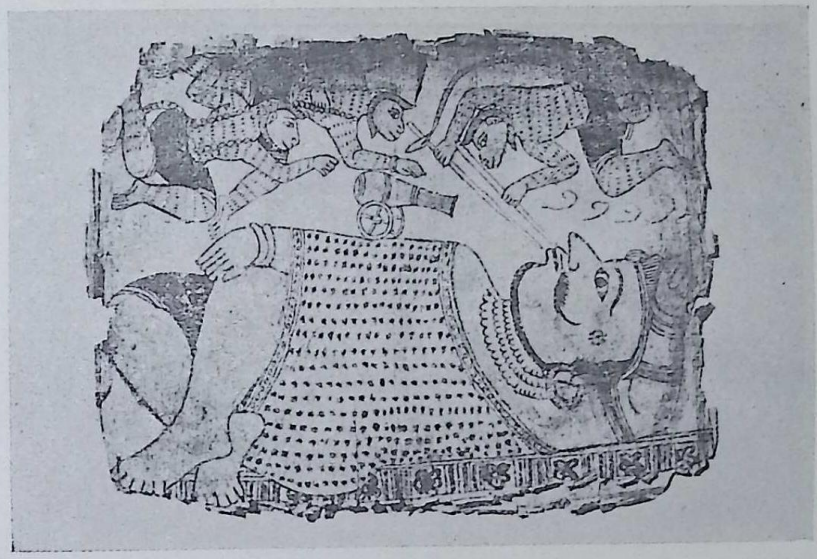

Plate 2. Kumbhakarṇa sleeping.

Plate 3. Fight between Karṇa and Arjuna.

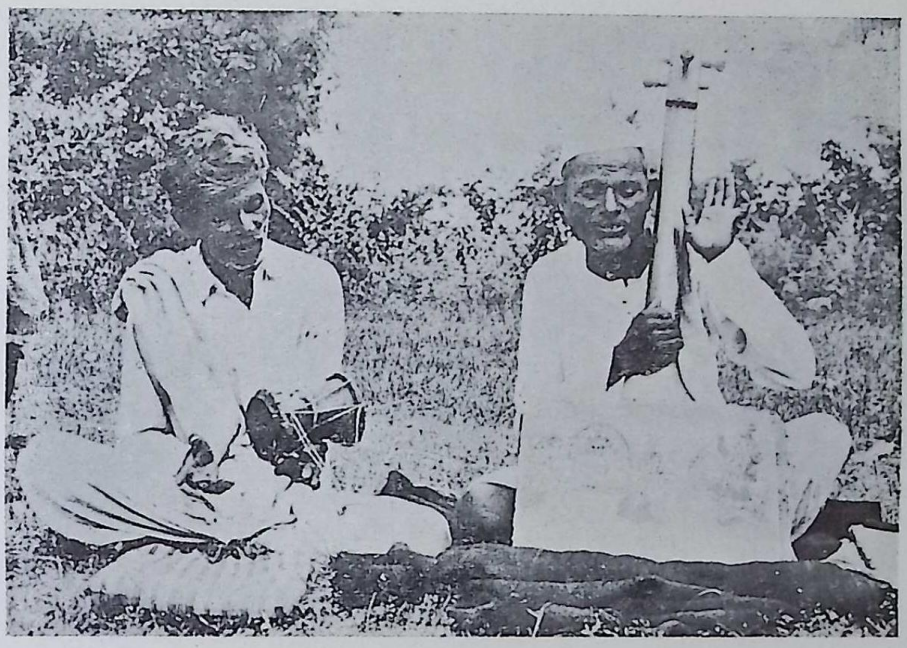

Plate 4. A performance by two picture showmen.

Plate 5. Sītā in the forest.

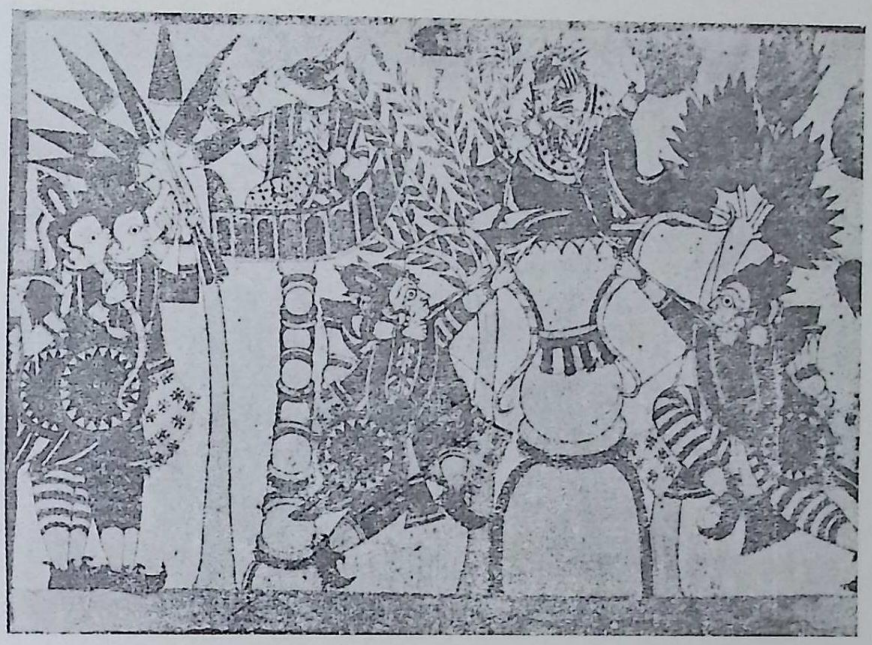

Plate 6. Kuśa and Lava shooting the Unicorn.

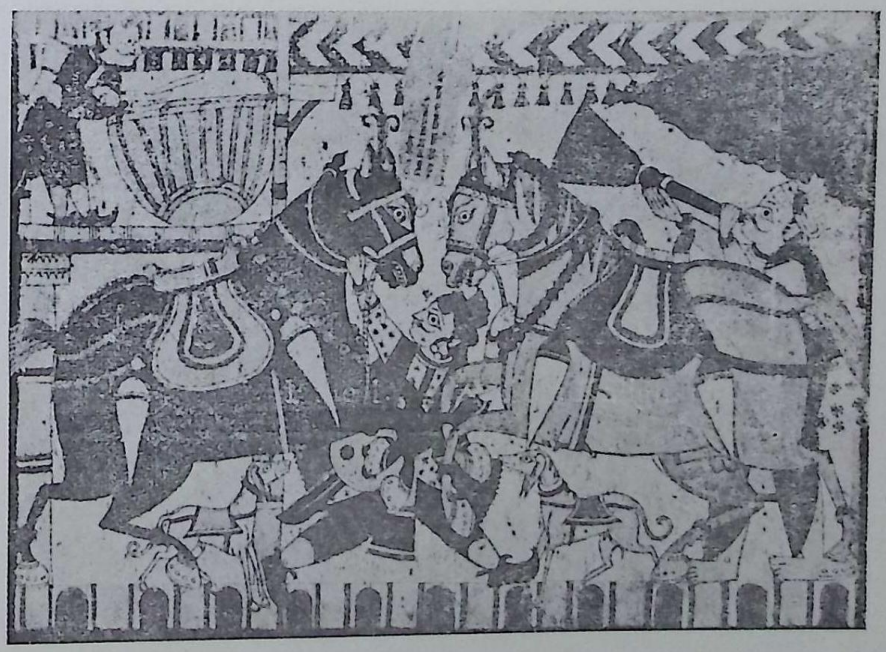

Plate 7. Preparations for war.

Plate 8. Rāma fighting Rāvaṇa.

Plate 9. Lakṣmaṇa being nursed by Rāma.

Plate 10. A kavad box from Rajasthan, closed and unfolded.

MARK TATZ, VANCOUVER (CANADA)

THE VOW OF BENEVOLENT CONDUCT
(introduction, translation and commentary)

INTRODUCTION

The "vow of benevolent conduct" (bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna) is the resolution made by the bodhisattva Samantabhadra, the "wholly benevolent" or "all-good" bodhisattva. A bodhisattva is defined as one who has resolved to follow the way of the Buddha, to become himself a fully awakened being, and to help all other living beings to attain that state. In its higher sense a bodhisattva is one who, having made this vow, has then advanced to a state of spiritual awareness and meditative skill by which he gains the necessary abilities to actually help others. At this stage he is called a "bodhisattva great hero" (bodhisattva-mahāsattva). In the latter sense, the term is generally capitalized.

There are two conducts or "courses" mentioned in this poem. One is the "course of awakening" (bodhicaryā); it leads to the acquisition of the transcendent wisdom which characterizes a Buddha. The other, which is the subject proper of this recital, is the "course of benevolence" (bhadracaryā); it develops the attitude of compassion for others and promises the practice of deeds which will effect their welfare.

The two course are essentially the same, for they share the goal of buddhahood[1]. But their emphasis is different at the outset. Wisdom versus compassion is the dynamic of the Mahāyāna buddhist path.

Samantabhadra teaches the performance of good works and a broadly compassionate attitude. He personifies the benevolent side of bodhisattvahood. He is at the same time represented as an actual "bodhisattva great hero", and this explains a certain ambiguity of the poem. Although he is the speaker, Samantabhadra sometimes refers to himself in the third person. He says, for example (55ab) : "Learned like the hero Mañjuśrī,/So is Samantabhadra". He is likewise mentioned in verses 42 and 43 as an exemplar. Mañjuśrī is the personification of the path of study and wisdom; there is another bodhisattva vow made by him.[2] In the lines just quoted the author is stating that the practice of acquiring good merit by concern for others, as symbolized by Samantabhadra, results in wisdom which is the equivalent of that earned by study

[1] Cf. Bhadrāpaṇa's comment to verse 40, cited below.

[2] See verse 44 below.

and meditation. I mention this here because it has confused some readers who, like the very competent editor of our text, miss this symbolic aspect of Samantabhadra, concluding that such reference to him "ill accords" with the fact that he is himself speaking the stanzas.[3]

The Vow of Benevolent Conduct is skillfully composed in *dodhaka* stanzas of eleven syllables to each of four lines of the verse, translated into Tibetan lines of nine syllables. The original language is Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit—so termed by modern scholars because the original vernacular was turned partially, by editors, into literary Sanskrit.[4] The style is poetic but not difficult, and the meaning for the most part is easy to grasp. Nonetheless its importance is such that five Sanskrit commentaries are translated into the Tibetan sacred canon.[5] A number of Tibetans have also commented upon it.[6] Its popularity is such that many Tibetans, lay and monastic, know it by heart.

Although it is generally treated as a separate text, Samantabhadra's vow originates as part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*[7], to which it forms the conclusion. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is itself the last chapter of the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra*, an enormous compendium of literature which is the basis of the "totality" school of Chinese Buddhism.[8]

The *Avataṁsaka* contains the primary literature of the bodhisattva path—that is, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*[9], outlining the ten stages of development towards

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[3] Devi (see bibliography below), Introduction p. 20.

[4] F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, Introduction, reprinted Delhi 1970.

[5] The Bstan-'gyur commentaries are:

(a) Nāgārjuna, *Ārya-bhadracaryā-mahāpraṇidhānarāja-nibandhana* (Lecture on the Great Royal Vow of the Noble Benevolent Conduct), Otani 5512;

(b) Diṅnāga, *Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhānārtha-saṁgraha* (Summary of the Vow of Wholly Benevolent Conduct), Otani 5513;

(c) Śākyamitra, *Ārya-bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna-ṭīkā* (Extensive Commentary to the Vow of the Noble Benevolent Conduct), Otani 5514;

(d) The "Extensive Commentary" of Bhadrāpaṇa, see Bibliography below; and (e) Vasubandhu, *Ārya-bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna-ṭīkā* (Commentary to the Vow of the Noble Benevolent Conduct).

[6] See for example Lokesh Chandra, ed., *Lcäng-skya Khutukhtu Lalitavajra's Commentary on the Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhānarāja*, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok 1963.

[7] Sanskrit ed. Suzuki & Idzumi, Kyoto 1934-36; and by P. L. Vaidya, *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts* 1960.

[8] On the *Avataṁsaka* in general and Samantabhadra in particular see Chang, Ch'eng-chi (Garma C. C. Chang), *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality*, Pennsylvania 1971, especially pp. 187ff. See also D.T. Suzuki, "The Gaṇḍavyūha", in *On Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism*, ed. E. Conze 1968. A full translation of the *Avataṁsaka* from Chinese, with contemporary commentary, is said to be forthcoming from the Gold Mountain Monastery of San Francisco.

[9] Ed. J. Rahder, Louvain 1926; tr. J. Honda in Śatapiṭaka Series vol. 74.

buddhahood. The *Avataṁsaka* in general is filled with the most sublime and cosmic imagery of any buddhist school. It abounds in similes of eternity and infinity, oceanic metaphors and astronomical figures; its expanse is the infinity of worlds in the universe, and the ages of their existence. It is filled with miraculous visions, inconceivable to the ordinary imagination but a part of the cosmic worldview of the Bodhisattva. This viewpoint is an elaboration of the vision of nirvāṇa; the expansion of the eternal into the mundane world. This state of the high Bodhisattva is called 'non-stationary' (apratiṣṭha) nirvāṇa; it is not static: the Bodhisattva does not enter the trance of cessation but continues to course through the world, transformed by his awakening into a cosmic being.

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* section of the *Avataṁsaka* is a spiritual adventure story. The hero is Sudhana, a merchant's son. The sūtra plots his progress "from seeing the universe as ordinary people see it, when filled with attachment and petty, selfish desires, to seeing it as the (true) bodhisattva sees it".[10]

Sudhana meets first with the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who arouses in him the intention of gaining enlightenment. Mañjuśrī gives him personal instruction and sends him in search of other "spiritual friends" (kalyāṇa-mitra). Travelling over India (mostly in the south), Sudhana meets with a total of fifty-two other teachers. Some are ordinary people, and a few are gods. Twenty are female. Each aids him in his quest. Finally, after returning to Mañjuśrī, he meets with Samantabhadra, who grants him a number of wonderful visions. The vow of Samantabhadra closes the story, summarizing the goals and accomplishments of the Bodhisattva. Samantabhadra speaks first in prose. The verse summary which follows, and is translated in this paper, has become the classic statement of the religious aims of the Mahāyāna.

The *gāthās* which follow prose passages in the sūtras have generally been assumed to function merely as aids to memory. But the Vow of Benevolent Conduct is more than a literary recasting; in form it is a complete ritual. The commentaries make this clear, and in the following translation I have provided the headings, corresponding to the various steps of the ceremony, as outlined by Bhadrāpaṇa in his *ṭīkā*. The fourth-century text of the vow shows essentially the same structure as is used in tantric ritual meditations in Tibet to this day. First come the "seven offices of worship" of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, then the vow itself, followed by an indication of its extent and commitments, its

[10] A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, New Delhi 1970, p. 424; this account of the plot of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is taken primarily from this source. See also Jan Fontein, *The Pilgrimage af Sudhana*, "a study of Gaṇḍavyūha illustrations in China, Japan and Java," Paris 1968.

benefits, and finally the dedication of merit which has been generated by the ceremony. The vow of course is not tantric. Commentaries to it are written from the Mādhyamika standpoint[11] and contain no reference to the yogic techniques specific to the tantras. The bodhisattva vow is a necessary prerequisite to all Mahāyāna practice and so is common to all the traditions of the Greater Vehicle. The point is that ritual formulations in Buddhism are not uniquely tantric.

A person on the Mahāyāna path would take first the "vow of refuge" in the Three Jewels (the Buddha, his doctrine and the buddhist community), then ordination as a lay or monastic disciple. At the point where he or she has developed the "thought of enlightenment" (bodhicitta), the intention to lead all beings to awakening—as has been done by Sudhana by the story's end—the bodhisattva vow will be taken. Tantric commitments are based upon these; a repetition of the vow of refuge and that of the bodhisattva forms the introduction to each tantric ritual meditation, placing it in the context of bodhisattva activity. The Vow of Benevolent Conduct has in Tibet been made the basis of other ritual meditations: for example, practices to accomplish the transference of one's consciousness during sleep, and to bring the dead back to life.[12] Most generally however it is made the basis of the ceremonial transmission of the bodhisattva vow in its Mādhyamika form. Lay or monastic ordination and moral commitment is not a formal prerequisite to taking this form of the vow, for the aspirations are sublime and generalized. The Yogācāra form of the bodhisattva vow, based on Candragomin's *Twenty Verses on the Bodhisattva Vow* (Bodhisattva-saṁvara-viṁśaka), derives from the "morality" chapter of Asaṅga's *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* and is much more detailed in its moral exhortations: to receive it one must have taken the lay or monastic vows.[13]

On the theory that no presentation of sūtra is complete without commentatorial material there has, in the section following this translation, been summarized the outline made of the text by Bhadrāpaṇa in his commentary. Some of his explanations have been cited, and to them I have added some explication of terms of which he assumes an acquaintance. But an attempt has been made to focus attention on the structure of the text, and for a more

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[11] See comment to verse 38 below.

[12] Lokesh Chandra ed., op. cit. p. ii.

[13] The Yogācāra form of the vow is a topic in the author's forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia.

detailed explanation of philosophic terms the reader should consult other works on Mādhyamika. The Tibetan translation of the vow embedded (partially) in Bhadrāpaṇa's explanation is basically the same as the separate translation of the vow itself, but not identical. For example, at 52b the commentator has *rus* in place of *kha dog* (*gotra* or "clan" rather than "color" or "social class", *varṇa*).

Reference in the commentary (as in this introduction) to verse and line (e.g. 52a indicates "verse 52, line one") refer to the lines in order of their English translation. The translation is fairly literal, but presents in free verse what appears in Sanskrit and Tibetan in strict metrical form. In addition I have made use of the relatively richer vocabulary available in English, to vary the translation of the same Tibetan or (less frequently) Sanskrit term. So the phrase "in the ten directions" (north, northeast, east etc., up and down) might appear as "in all directions" or "in infinity", and the phrase "in the three times" (past, present and future) as "in all of time" or "in eternity". Likewise "benevolent course" (bhadracaryā) is translated "wholesome practice", "good conduct", and so forth. In this way some of the manifold implications of the original terms may appear.

I have used the text of the vow as edited by Sushama Devi in its Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions, following the Tibetan, as the language of the living tradition and the extant commentaries, and with reference to the Sanskrit. This edition is followed closely with two exceptions: Devi's verse 7, regarded as an interpolation and not present in most Tibetan versions, has been relegated to the notes, and an additional hortatory stanza, found in the Tibetan but not the Sanskrit, has been retained at the end. So every verse after the sixth corresponds to the verse in Devi's edition which is numbered one higher, and in the end the number of verses comes out equal. The text being easily access-

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TEXTS

[1] Sushama Devi ed., *Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhānarāja*, Śatapiṭaka Series 4, New Delhi 1958.

[2] Bhadrāpaṇa (Rgyan bzang-po), Ārya-bhadracaryā-praṇidhānarāja-*ṭīkā* (Extensive Commentary to the Royal Vow of the Noble Benevolent Conduct), Otani 5515, vol. 105.305-13.

PREVIOUS TRANSLATIONS

[1] into German by Leumann along with the Sanskrit edition of K. Watanabe, *Die Bhadracarī, eine Probe Buddhistisch-religiösen Lyrik*, Leipzig 1912.

[2] into English by H. Idzumi in *Eastern Buddhist* V (1929-31), pp. 226-47.

[3] into Dutch by F.D.K. Bosch in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunden van Nederlandsch-Indie* 97 (1938) vol. 2, pp. 241-93.

[4] into English by Jes Peter Asmussen, *The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā*, Kobenhavn 1961.

ible in various editions, I have omitted its reproduction.

It is hoped that this student's attempt at translation will be of some use to others. May any merit accrued from it tend towards their awakening.

THE ROYAL VOW OF EXALTED BENEVOLENT PRACTICE

Homage to Samantabhadra

Then the Bodhisattva, the great hero Samantabhadra, in order to enlighten as many ages as the indescribable (numbers of) atoms in the equally indescribable (numbers of) Buddha-heavens in each of the unspeakably (numerous) realms of the universe, by reciting the (following) verses, made a vow.

I. Homage to the Buddhas

1. To the lions of humanity, who pervade all of time,
   As many as be in the world in all directions,
   To all of them without fail,
   I prostrate with pure body, speech and mind.

II. Worship. II.1. with body

2. By virtue of the resolve to practice good,
   Making all the Jinas mentally visible,
   Bending bodies as many as atoms in the heavens,
   I prostrate to all the Jinas.

II.2. with mind

3. In Buddhas as many as the atoms above one atom,
   Seated in the midst of the Buddhas' disciples,
   So in all the Jinas without exception
   Whose element is the Dharma, I dedicate full faith.

II.3. with speech

4. I praise all those gone to bliss,
   Inexhaustably praiseworthy oceans,
   With all sounds, an ocean of melody,
   Telling those Jinas' virtues.

II.4. with ordinary offerings

5. With fine flowers and fine garlands,
   Cymbals, unguents and parasols,
   Fine lamps and holy incense,
   I worship all those Jinas.

6. With holy clothing and fine scent,
Powdered herbs (piled up) like Meru,
All fine specialties arrayed,
I do worship to the Jinas.

II.5. with extraordinary offerings

7. Whatever be the sublime extraordinary offerings,
I devote them to all the Jinas;
By virtue of faith in good conduct,
I prostrate, and worship all Jinas.

III. Confession of Sins

8. Whatever misdeeds I have done,
Out of lust, hatred or confusion,
With body or speech or with mind,
I confess them all.

IV. Appreciation of Merit

9. The merit of all the Jinas and their disciples,
Of Independent Buddhas, of students and graduates,
Of all the creatures of space,
I appreciate it all.

V. Entreaty to Teach the Doctrine

10. Those who are the lamps of the world in all directions,
Having attained unfettered awakening to bodhi,
I entreat all those Lords,
To turn the supernal Wheel.

VI. Prayer to remain in the world

11. I beg with folded hands that they remain,
Who may wish to demonstrate nirvāṇa,
For all creatures' welfare and happiness,
For ages as many as atoms in the heavens.

VII. Dedicating the merit of the above actions

12. Whatever bit of merit I have gathered,
By prostration, worship and confession,
By appreciation, entreaty and prayer,
I dedicate all towards awakening.

VIII. The actual vow. 1. The intention (a) to worship the Buddhas

13. I shall worship the Buddhas of the past,
And those who abide in the world;

And may those in the future come in turn very quickly,
Fulfilling their intention, to waken to Buddhahood.

VIII.1 (*b*) *to purify one's buddha-field*

14. Many as are the heavens anywhere in infinity,
Let them become extensive and wholly pure;
May they be full of Jinas under lord-Bodhi trees,
And replete with buddha-disciples.

VIII.1 (*c*) *to accomplish the welfare of all*

15. Many as are living beings in all of space,
May they be always happy and free from illness;
Let the sense of the doctrine be appropriate to all creatures,
And may whatever they hope for be attained.

VIII.2. Always remembering the intention of reaching Awakening

16. Let me, practicing the courses to awakening,
Come to remember past lives in all destinies;
In all lifetimes I am to traverse,
Let me always go forth (to religion).
17. Studying under all the Jinas,
Fulfilling the wholesome conduct,
With all-pure and stainless moral practice,
Let me course always untiring and faultless.
18. The speech of gods, and nāgas and yakṣas' speech,
Kumbhāṇḍas' and human language:
Many as are the voices of all creatures,
I will teach the doctrine in all.
19. Zealous in the good, and in the perfections,
The thought of awakening never being forgotten,

VIII.3. Practicing nonattachment to misdirections

May any misdeeds that obscure it,
Be all-purged, without exception.
20. Freed from karma, defilements, and the doings of Māra,
Let me act, as the lotus is unaffected by the water,
As the sun and the moon are not attached to the sky,
For all creatures of the world.

VIII.4. Declaration of working for the welfare of all

21. In any direction, however large the heaven,
Let me appease the sufferings of the unfortunate;

Establishing all creatures in happiness,
I will work for the benefit of all.

VIII.5. Implements for the work

22. Fulfilling the course to awakening,
Yet conforming to the ways of living beings,
Demonstrating the benevolent conduct,
I will course through all ages to come.

VIII.6. Joining with other bodhisattvas

23. May those whose course is like mine,
Always be my companions;
With body and speech and with mind,
Let us course in the same vow and conduct.

VIII.7. The importance of spiritual advisers

24. Friends who mean to do me good,
Who demonstrate the good conduct,
May I always meet with them,
Never banishing them from mind.

VIII.8. Seeing the Enjoyment-body of the Buddha

25. Let me always see the Jinas manifest,
Lords surrounded by buddha-disciples;
And for all future ages, without fail,
I will do them extensive worship.

VIII.9. Upholding the doctrine

26. Upholding the holy doctrine of the Jinas,
Lighting up the course to awakening,
Accomplishing the benevolent practice,
I will course through all ages to come.

VIII.10. Accumulating merit and understanding

27. And returning in all destinies of existence,
Merit and understanding unfailingly obtained,
An inexhaustible store of all virtues:
Technique, wisdom, concentration and liberation.

VIII.11. Obtaining the eight penetrations

28. There are heavens as numerous as the atoms above one atom,
In which fields are inconceivably (many) Buddhas,
Dwelling in the midst of their disciples:
Let me, taking the course to awakening, come to see (them all).

29. So let me plunge through the whole of infinity,
Coursing through oceans of ages,
Through oceans of Buddhas and heavens,
Numerous as the lines to measure eternity.
30. With language, an ocean of qualities in one voice,
Let me ever embody the Buddhas' eloquence:
All the Jinas' pure qualities of communication,
Speaking to the needs of everyone.
31. May I also penetrate, by intellectual power,
The unfailing (ability of) communication
Of all the Jinas pervading eternity,
Who teach the methods of teaching.
32. May I also penetrate, in only one instant (of knowing),
The entry into all ages to come;
However many ages make up eternity,
May I course abiding (in them), in part of a single instant.
33. The lions of humanity, spread through all of time,
May I see them all in each instant;
By the power of liberation to create illusion,
May I always enter their field.
34. May all the heavens arrayed in eternity,
Be made manifest on the tip of a single atom;
So without exception, throughout all of space,
Be arrayed the heavens of the Conquerors.
35. May those who are the future lamps of the world,
Be awakened in order, and turn the wheel;
May I come to meet all the Lords
Who show final peace, transcendent of suffering.

VIII.12. Obtaining the ten powers

36. With the all-swift psychic powers,
With the powers of the Vehicle the absolute door,
With the powers of all-qualified practice,
With the powers of all-embracing love,
37. With the powers of wholly virtuous merit,
The powers of unattached understanding,
The powers of wisdom, technique and concentration,
I will, accomplishing the power of awakening,

VIII.13. Obtaining the antidotes

38. Purging the powers of karma,
Subduing the powers of the defilements,
Disabling the powers of Māra,
Perfect the power of the benevolent course.

VIII.14. The work of the high Bodhisattva—eight forms

39. Making pure an ocean of heavens,
Freeing oceans of sentient beings,
Making visible oceans of doctrine,
Demonstrating oceans of understanding,
40. Purging oceans of practice,
Fulfilling oceans of vows,
Doing worship to oceans of Buddhas,
I will, unwavering, course through oceans of ages.

VIII.15. Dedication of merit in imitation of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas

41. Whatever the various vows of the awakening course,
Of all the Jinas pervading eternity,
I, having awakening to Buddhahood by the benevolent course,
Will fulfill them all without fail.
42. The senior disciple of all the Jinas,
Whose name is Samantabhadra,
To practice like this skilled one,
I dedicate all this virtue.
43. With purified body, speech and mind,
Pure conduct and pure heavens,
Whatever the blessed wise Bhadra is like,
Let me be equal to it.
44. For the all-virtuous wholesome conduct,
I will practice Mañjuśrī's vow;
Through all future ages unwavering,
I will fulfill all his deeds.

VIII.16. Completion of the vow—obtaining all the qualities of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas

45. No measure must there be to the courses,
No measure to qualities;
And stationed in measureless courses,
I will seek all their magical powers.

IX. The limits of the vow

46. The limit of sentient beings,
In the far limits of space,
The limits of karma and defilement,
Are the limits of my vow.

X. Benefit of making the vow. 1. Immediate (in this lifetime)
(a) Obtaining merit equivalent to innumerable offerings

47. Whatever the limitless heavens of infinity,
To adorn them with jewels for offering to the Jinas;
The dearest things of gods and humanity,
To give them for ages as many as atoms of the heavens,—

48. Greater the holy merit than this
Is the instant commitment produced
By one who has heard this royal dedication
And has faith which leads to the great awakening.

X.1 (b) Seeing the Buddhas

49. Those making the vow of good practice,
Relinquish all lower rebirths;
They give up mean companions,
And will soon see Amitābha.

X.1(c) Good fortune

50. They live happily, gaining wealth;
They win human birth here;
They also, before very long,
Become just like Samantabhadra.

X.1(d) Purging karmic obscurations

51. Those out of ignorance committing
The five boundless sins,
If they recite this benevolent conduct,
Will quickly extinguish their (effect).

X.2. Benefit in future lives. (a) Causal: a good rebirth

52. They will come to have understanding and beauty,
Good qualities, family and class;
Swarms of māras or irreligious cannot touch them;
All the three worlds do them worship.

X.2 (b) Resultative: buddhahood

53. Soon they will approach the lord-Bodhi tree,

And sit there for the welfare of living beings;
They will waken to buddhahood, turning the wheel,
Subduing all māras and their (devilish) armies.

54. Those who keep this vow of benevolent practice,
And teach it or recite it,
Their reward is knowing buddhahood,
There being no doubt to sublime awakening.

Closing stanzas: Dedication of merit derived from the vow—like a Bodhisattva

55. Learned like the hero Mañjuśrī,
So is Samantabhadra;
Following their example,
I dedicate all this virtue.

—like a Buddha

56. Since all the Jinas pervading eternity,
Praise whatever is dedicated as best,
All these virtuous roots of mine also,
I devote to benevolent conduct.

Effects of the dedication

57. When I reach the time of death,
All obscurations cleared away,
Seeing Amitābha face to face,
May I go to his blissful heaven.

58. Having gone there may all these vows
Be present (in my mind);
May they all be fulfilled without fail,
Helping beings in every world.

59. In that wholesome and pleasant maṇḍala of the Jina,
Born from a beautiful holy lotus
Before the Jina Amitābha,
Let me there receive prediction.

60. Having there received prediction,
May I greatly benefit living beings
Throughout infinity, by force of intellect,
With many thousand-millions of emanations.

61. Whatever bit of vitue I have gathered,
By making this vow of good conduct,
By it, may all the good vows of creatures,

In one instant all be matured.

Dedication of the merit derived from the dedication

62. Let the limitless holy merit (thus) obtained,
By dedicating this vow of good practice,
(Enable) creatures, submerged in the flood of suffering,
Reach the abode of Amitābha.

In praise of this text

63. The senior of these exalted royal vows,
Does benefit to all creatures without limit;
Put into practice this scripture, authored by Samantabhadra,
And extinguish all connection to lower destinies.

COMMENTARY

The following is an outline of the main topics of the Vow of Benevolent Conduct, as set forth by Bhadrāpaṇa. His commentary (*ṭīkā*) is cited from the Peking edition of the Bstan-'gyur, in its Otani pagination. Bhadrāpaṇa's work, here abridged, is cited parenthetically, e.g. (305.2.1). The relevant verses and lines of the vow are italicised, e.g. *27b*. Comments in parentheses are this translator's interpolations.

I have supplied Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents without distinguishing them. For those who know either language it would be unnecessary to distinguish, and for those who don't, not relevant. Sanskrit equivalents are given in the classical language, and are not necessarily those of the (Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit) text.

(305.2.1) The collected topics of the prayer of Samantabhadra are tenfold, viz.:

I. Homage to the Thus-Come-Ones,
II. worship of them,
III. purification of sins,
IV. appreciation of merit,
V. entreaty to turn the wheel of the doctrine,
VI. prayer to the Thus-Come-Ones to remain,
VII. dedicating the virtuous roots,
VIII. classifying them (the vow itself),
IX. their limits, and
X. their virtuous benefits.

(We take them in order.)

I. (Homage) To the Lord Buddhas generally, but not distinguished, pervading all directions, times and heavens, he does powerful homage with body, speech and mind...(*1*)

(The Buddha is called a lion because) the lion is without consternation or fear (305.2.6).

("Without fail" is literally, "to all, 'without exception' ".)

II. (Worship) "By the power" (*2a*) because it (the Vow of Benevolent Conduct) comes to overshadow (zil-gyis mi-non) the defilements.

He is called "the Jina" (*rgyal ba* "Victor" or "Conqueror") because he has overcome the defilements (desire, aversion and bewilderment) and Māra.

(He says, "Buddhas many as the atoms above one atom, *3a*) so as not to have to say, "the Buddhas, numerous as all the atoms of the heavens of the Buddhas who pervade the ten directions and all of time" (305.4.1-2).

"Element of Dharma (dharmadhātu, *3d*) is the element of the essence of all dharmas (305.4.3-4). (That is, the emptiness of all dharmas, and opposed to the "element of the world", *lokadhātu*, which is the deluded belief in the ultimate reality of things. The Buddha's realm is the Dharma.)

4c: The disciples (of the lesser vehicle) have (a listing of) five attributes of the Buddha's speech, the Mahāyāna (lists of) sixty, ten thousand, and innumerable attributes (305.1.2. Cf. comment to verse 30 below).

In verse *5* and verse *6* we have the ordinary worship, and in *7*, especially at *7c*, the extraordinary (which is the offering not of common things but of) those which are produced by the magical power of a Bodhisattva's concentration (306.1.2).

(Verse seven of the Sanskrit edition expands the list of ordinary offerings:

With excellent jewels and fine necklaces,
Fine variegated high canopies,
Beautiful banners and flagstaffs,
I do worship to those Jinas.)

III. (Confession and purification of sins, verse *8*.)

IV. (Appreciation of merit, verse *9*.) ("Buddha-disciples" are the Bodhisattvas, closest disciples of the Buddhas; "Independent Buddhas" (pratyekabuddha) are those who attain nirvāṇa without the aid of a teacher, and themselves do not teach); "students" (śaikṣa) are the seven ordinary (unenlightened) types of person; and "graduates" (or "adepts"), are the arhats (who have conquered the defilements but do not perform the functions of a Buddha).

V. (Entreaty to turn the wheel of the doctrine, verse *10*. That is, entreating the Buddhas to teach. The image of a wheel is used because all effective motion is by means of the wheel, and movement towards awakening is done by means of the highest wheel.)

VI. "Prayer to the Buddhas to remain in saṁsāra, verse *11*. The "heavens", *11c* are realms created or "purified from the phenomenal world by the psychic powers of the Buddhas, in order that sentient beings may experience welfare and study the doctrine without distraction.)

VII. (The dedication of the merit of the forementioned acts, verse *12*, towards awakening and not, for example, towards a more pleasant state of rebirth.)

VIII. Classification of the parts of the (actual) vow of Samantabhadra (306.4.3). There are sixteen parts:

1 Intention (bsam pa),
2 not forgetting the thought of awakening,
3 practicing nonattachment,
4 declaration of (doing) benefit for sentient beings,
5 implements,
6 meeting like-minded bodhisattvas (in all) ages,
7 the pleasant spiritual friend,
8 manifestation of the Thus-Come-Ones,
9 upholding the holy doctrine,
10 obtaining inexhaustible stores,
11 penetrations,
12 powers,
13 antidotes,
14 work,
15 imitation and dedication, and
16 completion.

(306.4.6) Among them, "intention" 1. is the first sort. And it has three aspects:

(a) Worship of the Thus-Come-Ones, and the intention of performing one's meditation (on them, verse *13*). "Worship" refers to extraordinary worship, as the Lord Buddhas are in nirvāṇa.

(b) The intention of purifying (one's own) Buddha-heaven, verse *14*. Where? Wherever appropriate...such as Sukhāvatī (the heaven of Amitābha Buddha).

(The Bodhi, *14c*, is the lord of trees, being that under which the Buddha-to-be meditates to gain final awakening; but "lord" may allude also to earlier worship of tree-spirits.)

(c) The intention of (accomplishing) benefit and happiness for all sentient beings, verse *15*.

2. Not forgetting the intention of (reaching) awakening, verse *16*; this teaches the rejection of incongruent directions, together with their antidote. The section from *16a* through *19d* deals with this.

"In all lifetimes I traverse, I will always become a (religious) wanderer" (pravrajita, *16cd*) is a condition of this, and likewise "studying under all the Jinas"(*17a*).

The second condition of not forgetting the thought of enlightenment is practicing (morality) until the awakening (*17cd*). The third is the teaching of doctrine in all languages (*18*). The fourth is the practice of all ten perfections (of the bodhisattva, *19ab*).....(Nāgas are great dragons who live under bodies of water; yakṣas are demi-gods on earth; kumbhāṇḍas are a class of vampire demons.)

3. (Nonattachment): *19cd-22* teaches the antidote to whatever misdeeds occur in the universe which are incongruent with the thought of awakening. Here the first half-verse (*19cd*) indicates the rejection of directions incompatible with the thought of enlightenment.

"Freed from karma, defilements and the doings of Māra (*20a*) clearly refers to the three defilements (307.3.7). Karma is held to be of three sorts, by distinguishing good, bad and ineffective (mi gyo ba "ineffective karma", Bhadrāpaṇa later says, is physical and non-physical meditation, rising to the first level of trance—311.2.8).

So he cleanses bad karma, the defilements and the doings (karma) of Māra. (The defilements are desire, hatred and ignorance. For, Bh. later says, they cause a succession of defilements in body and mind; and their power may be great or small—ibid.).

How? "As the lotus is unaffected by the water" (*20b*). The lotus, although growing from (muddy) water, is not affected by it (in its native beauty). So with bad karma, defilements and the paths of Māra (the comm. reads *lam*, an alternate for *las*).

This is...properly speaking, the course of the bodhisattva (*22a*). What is it like? Acting as the sun and the moon are not hung up on the sky (*20c*)...they do benefit to sentient creatures (without attachment to them).

"Māra" ("devil" in Tibetan, but in Sanskrit, 'deadener') indicates a (psychological) impediment to virtue; he is (anything) that constitutes a block on the path to awakening, and that reverses the right path. Literally, since he constitutes an impediment to the life of the doctrine, he is called Māra, "deadener". (Māra and his hosts are defeated by the bodhisattva during his meditation under the Bodhi-tree, cf. verse *53*.)

4. (Declaration.) Interesting oneself (gdags pa), during this and future lifetimes, in the benefit of (all) sentient beings without exception (*21*). For how long a time? *ji tsam*, "as many", means *ji srid* "as long" (307.5.2). ("The unfortunate", *21b*, the three lower destinies: animal, hungry ghost, and hell-world.)

5. Implements (*22*). There are three sorts:
(a) Embodiment of conduct conforming to that of sentient creatures (*22b*), (yet at the same time) (b) fulfilling the dharmas of the Buddha (22*a*), (c) and teaching the holy doctrine (by instruction and by example, *22c*).

"The course of awakening" (*22a*) is the course leading to awakening (bodhi). Producing the dharmas (attributes) of the Buddha is what is meant by "fulfilling" it.

6. Meeting in all ages with bodhisattvas who have the vow of body, speech and mind (*23*).

7. (Such) spiritual friends rejoice us by giving (sgrub pas) advice (gdams ṅag) which is of mental benefit (*24*).

8. It is said that the Lord Buddhas, conquerors of all the ten directions, are always seen manifest, by those whose eyes are without attachment to any worldly counterpart ('gro ba'i gñen po gcig la thogs med pa'i mig gis) as saviors surrounded by hosts of Bodhisattvas...(*25*, 308.1.5-6).

9. By understanding, teaching and practicing (it), I uphold the holy doctrine *26*.

10. Obtaining inexhaustible stores in terms of acquiring heaps of merit and spiritual understanding (gnosis) and so forth: *27*. From the common virtues of the bodhisattva, which are like an illusion, and so forth, up to all the uncommon ones, they are inexhaustible: *27c*.

11. Penetrations (avatāra, 'jug pa: entering, descent, incarnation or embodiment). Here there are eight sorts:
(a) Penetrating the vision of the Buddhas, and
(b) their heavens,
(c) penetrating their (ability of) communicating,

(d) penetrating the turning of the wheel of doctrine,
(e) penetrating the entry into ages,
(f) seeing the Thus-Come-One and entering his field of vision,
(g) penetrating the making manifest of Buddha-heavens, and
(h) entering the presence of the Thus-Come-One.

(a) is shown in two verses, from *28a*: "Atoms of the heavens of the Buddhas who pervade the three times, in the ten directions, above the first atom" (308.3.3), and (b) heavens of the Buddhas in equal number.

29d: Oceans of Buddhas numerous as the extent of the three times in an interval measured by the tips of hairs, that is, Buddhas numerous as the number of hairs it would take to divide an eternity. (Literally, "a path which the foolish might measure by hairs"—*skra'i khyon nam byis pa'i lam*—Das, *Dictionary* 119b.)

(c) The Buddha's ability to communicate (*30*): if the Thus-Come-One teaches doctrine, the innumerable creatures who are listening, in terms of their varieties of faith, because he enunciates with an immeasurable ocean of (vocal) qualities (cf. commentary on verse *4*), communicating (gsuṅ) with immeasurably differing meanings, terms and syllables simultaneously...each listener hears what is appropriate for him.

(d) (309.1.2) Penetrating (the ability to) turn the wheel of dharma: *31*. The Jinas who pervade the three times (skor) teach the ways of saṁsāra and preach sermons (rab tu bskor ba); by all of these, their beautiful communications of which no exhaustion is known and which transcend enumeration, whatever they be (in total), into them (I will enter).

"By their intellectual power"(*31b*): by the magnanimity of the greatness of spiritual understanding.

"Ways" (tshul) *31d*: whatever techniques (thabs, upāya) (bring one) to this,—whatever teaching of dharma, in whatever place and point of time, the, ability to see what will effect the conversion of sentient beings who have various (degrees of) belief.

Language which is "communication" (*31c*) refers to the meaning which fills the words.

(e) Penetrating the entrance into ages (*32*): in brief (this means that) by one instant of spiritual understanding, I will penetrate future ages which pervade the ten directions; that is, entering a succession of ages.

(f) See the Thus-Come-One and enter his field (of vision). (*33*). "By strength in liberation, which transforms illusion" (*33c*): the liberation of the

Bodhisattva permanently transfigures illusion, meaning that one should penetrate by the power of that reality of spiritual understanding. (That is, gnosis transforms illusory perception into the perception of reality and me, a mundane object, into an object in the sense-field of the supramundane Buddhas.)

(g) (Manifesting heavens: *34*). Again, in one instant of spiritual insight (309.2.6). How can all this be believed? Here, in accordance with the teaching, all dharmas are without reality, which is wholly unmanifest, like an illusion, like a dream, uncreated and undestroyed, calm from the outset like hairs floating before the eyes, by nature wholly transcendent of suffering (nirvāṇa-ized), so like that, according to the belief, is the reality of many sorts and varieties (of things) distinguished by various sensory recognitions. By meditating well and variously in the diverse concentrations (samādhi) and liberations (vimokṣa), and producing the experience of inconceivable arrays (of Buddhas and heavens, etc., they) become clearly visible in one's meditative field. In the world also, one skilled in visual hallucination, a magician (for example), produces something like that: he seems to create great miracles which are (however) illusory. Like that is all this (described in the verses); so one should be of no two minds on this matter, but think of it in line with this explanation.

(h) (309.3.4) Penetration of going into the presence of the Thus-Come-Ones, *35*.

12. Powers. There are ten sorts, in two verses (*36-37*) :

(a) "All-swift psychic powers" (*36a*): for example a Bodhisattva, unkillable by another (i.e., on a high level of spirituality), by all-swift psychic power, goes instantly to all directions. By "psychic power" (rdzu 'phrul) is obtained wealth, and whatever is desired. "Magical living" (tshe 'phrul) is the literal meaning (309.5).

(b) "Absolute door" (*36b*): the door entirely.

"Power of the Great Vehicle" (Mahāyāna): by the power of...this vehicle, the vehicle of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. What is its nature? It is the path to obtaining the awakening of the Buddhas, the accumulation of merit and understanding. But the greater vehicle also includes the perfections.

(c) "All-virtuous" (*36c*): virtuous at the beginning, the middle and the end. "Power of practice" refers to the power (stemming from) the practice of the course of awakening, and the course of benevolence: by both.

(d) "All-embracing" (*36d*): filling the ten directions. "Power of love": filling all realms of sentient beings with the intention of (bringing them) happiness.

(e) (Comm. has *kun tu* for *kun nas*) "Wholly virtuous" (*37a*): aimed at accom-

plishing the intention of producing happiness and benefit for all sentient beings.
(f) "Unattached" (*37b*) because it is unconnected to any of the three times. "Power of knowing" because it is spiritual understanding (gnosis) which understandings everything (310.1.6).
(g) "Power of wisdom" (*37c*): it comprehends the suchness of substances.
(h) "Power of technique" (*37c*): "technique" is what accomplishes.
(i) "Power of concentration" (*37c*): the power of equanimity, of meditation. Its power is action for the sake of all creatures, and non-attachment to the accomplishment of such things as the superknowledges (which are the fruits of meditation).
(j) "Power of awakening" (*37d*): "awakening" (bodhi) refers to extraordinary right and perfect awakening (to reality). The (other) powers exist for the sake of this. Whatever magical power exists is "perfectly accomplished" (by this power), and its accumulation obtained.

13. The antidote (*38*) to (bad) karma, defilements, and the powers of Māra. The antidote consists in the powers of faith, and so forth (which constitute religious practice,—faith, vigor, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom). As it is said, "By understanding that all dharmas are without self, all misdeeds are uprooted in all their aspects. One should come to attain a grasp of the non-creation of dharmas. (A long discussion follows on this important point, 310.2.2ff).

(On karma, defilements, and Māra cf. comments to verse *20*.)

(By *38d* he infers that the vow of benevolent practice has the power to) overshadow the incongruent directions, entering the manifestly unconditioned (the true reality).

14. This (*39-40*) shows the work of the Bodhisattva. And that work, "purifying Buddha-heavens" and so forth, has eight parts:
(a) Creating heavens such as Sukhāvatī, Padmavatī, etc. (*39a*).
(b) An ocean of sentient beings, imprisoned in saṁsāra, bound by the bonds of the iron chain of the defilements, in each instant being attracted by the psychic powers and by instructors who are magically alive (i.e., emanation bodies), are liberated (*39b*).
(c) Teaching oceans of doctrine (*39c*).
(d) "Oceans of knowing" (*39d*): limitless understanding in terms of the limitless things to be known (311.4.3).
(e) "Oceans of practice" (*40a*) : oceans of awakening-practice and oceans of benevolent-practice, not distinguished. Between them the awakening-practice,

following the doctrine of the Buddha, is the accumulation of understanding; the latter, the benevolent-practice, producing benefit and happiness for limitless (numbers of) creatures, is the accumulation of merit.

In another sense, the benevolent practice is the very same as the awakening practice, for both lead to awakening. However there is a distinction in manifestation which is termed their respective lineages.

(f) "Oceans of vows" (*40b*): perfection of the powers of morality and concentration (as opposed to the power of wisdom) (311.4.7-8).

(g) "Oceans of Buddhas" (*40c*): in each moment, to do worship by making offerings which cover the sky.

(h) "Oceans of ages" (*40d*): (to course) "with mind unwavering".

15. (311.5.1) Dedication (of merit) in imitation of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (*41-45*). This constitutes the fulfillment of the vow of Samantabhadra.

The "senior disciple" (*42a*) is one who has all the qualities and perfections of the Bodhisattva (311.5.7).

16. Verse *45* shows the maturation (of the bodhisattva vow). Having established myself in measureless courses and measureless virtues, I will permanently exhibit all the marvellous emanations ('phrul pa) of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (312.1.7-312.2.1).

IX. This is the completion of VIII, its end (or limit). The limit of this vow of benevolent practice is of four sorts, spoken of in the examples of space, and so forth (*46*).

X. The benefit of the vow,—that is, 1. immediate effect (lit. "visible dharmas" in this life), and 2. the effect in future lives.

1. These are of four sorts (312.4.5):

(a) Completion in distinctive merit (*47-48*),

(b) seeing the Thus-Come-One (*49*),

(c) obtaining good fortune like a Bodhisattva (*50*), and

(d) purging bad karma(*51*).

(a) So, if a son or daughter of good family (i.e. a Buddhist) in the higher rebirths, for ages as many as atoms of the heavens of the Buddhas, gives to the Lord Buddhas adornments with those divine good that transcend the human, such as garments, canopies, parasols, banners, flags, music, prayer bells, prayer-beads, incense, flowers and lamps, which are the various precious things of the limitless boundless heavens of the Buddhas, and (gives) ornaments in addition such as the food and drink of gods and humanity with the hundred good specialities of taste, and a certain individual only hears once of this royal dedi-

cation, there will likewise be produced an "instantaneous commitment" (*48c*) (in the latter individual). By that past merit produced from giving, one creates this special good merit (of instantaneous commitment). "How so?" By having faith in the great awakening (*48b*). This is the Great Vehicle,...which includes the śrāvaka-vehicle (312.3.6).

2. By leaving aside lower destinies and mean companions, one comes to see the Thus-Come-One (49). "By whom is (this) seen?" By one who has the benevolent vow in terms of its words and its sense.

(This last section, starting from verse *49*, has some feel of being an addition; the references to Amitābha do not appear in all the Chinese translations).
(c) Obtaining the good fortune of the Bodhisattva: wealth, long life and fame, as told in verse *51*, accrues to one who has obtained this precious vow (312.3.7).
(d) The benefit of purging karmic obscuration (*51*). (Even in the case of) one who, by virtue of killing a human being, by this karmic deed which is one of the five boundless (sins) such as killing one's mother, (killing an arhat, parricide, causing schism in the Buddhist community, and causing the Thus-Come-One to bleed), in truly grasping the expiation by this vow of benevolent practice, one moistens the mind with the moisture of the water of faith. If it (the vow) is spoken as instruction, read with commitment, practiced with comprehension, done tirelessly day and night, one's organism (lus) will soon be purged of these five boundless (sins) (312.3.7 ff).

a. (The benefit of the vow in) future lives: (a) The collection of conditions, and (b) effects.
(a) Understanding and beauty, and a body adorned with (desirable) characteristics, a characteristically uninjurable body (*52*).

"Understanding" (*52a*) which includes all practices (in its scope).

"Beauty": a physical form which is captivating.

"Good qualities": the thirty-two signs of the great person, such as the hair-tuft.

"Family": Brahmin or royal, or whatever is appropriate (to one's society).

"Class": (social class).

For one who holds to this vow of benevolent practice, and teaches it, many māras and even the irreligious (lit. tīrthikas 'hindus') cannot touch him; they are overshadowed, and all the world does him worship.
(b) The effects (*53-54*) are, characteristically, penetrating the heart of awakening, demonstrating how to sit on the lion throne, subduing Māra, complete and manifest awakening, turning the wheel of the doctrine, and so forth (in short,

the attainment of Buddha-hood).

One dedicates this merit like a Bodhisattva (*55d*), and then (*56*) like a Buddha (313.1.4). The next half-verse (*57ab*) shows the freedom from obscuration, and the next 2½ show the obtainment of an organism congruent with the perfections.

The "holy lotus" (*59b*) is an excellent lotus of various jewels, quite beautiful (313.2.4.) ("Prediction" is the revelation of his future Buddha-hood, his name as a Buddha, etc.)

"By force of intellect" (*60c*): by the magical power of understanding, gnosis without clinging or attachment (313.3.1).

May the helping of living creatures be the natural outcome of the merit of this vow (*61-62*, 313.3.1-2).

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SANSKRIT LITERATURE IN HUNGARY

From the immensely rich Sanskrit literature first the fables got through to Hungary. The appearance of fables is closely connected to the European way of Pañcatantra. The first translation was done in the years 1678-82, however, due to adverse circumstances it was published only in 1926. In this manner the first printed Hungarian Pañcatantra from a Latin original was that of Sámuel Báji Patay (1781) and it was followed by an another adaptation from Italian and French (1783).

The interest in Indian literature and culture arose in Hungary almost simultaneously with other European countries. A lot of Hungarian students attended Sanskrit courses at German universities and some of them having finished their studies undertook to work in Sanskrit philology.

An outstanding representative of this old generation was István Tamaskó (1801-1881). Tamaskó being a gymnasium professor in Pozsony (Bratislava) published a dissertation *De causis linguae Sanscriticae* (On the grammatical cases of Sanskrit) 1831 and later on translated from the Ṛgveda and Dhammapada. He himself wrote some short poems in Sanskrit !

We may find a long essay on the importance of Sanskrit in the literary journal *Literatura* (first issued 1837) and it is also very remarkable that the celebrated poet of the age Mihály Vörösmarty (1800-1855) achieved a Hungarian version of some parts of the Mṛcchakaṭika.

In the fifties Ferenc Pulszky (1814–1897), an emigrant in England at that time, who was a reputed archaeologist, studied Sanskrit from Professor Theodor Goldstücker and turned with a letter to the authorities of the Hungarian Academy calling their attention to the high scientific values of Pāṇini's grammar. Pulszky also donated a large collection of Indian books to the Hungarian Academy (1867). This library contained all the important European books on Sanskrit language and literature.

The section of linguistics and literature of the Hungarian Academy elected Rajendralala Mitra as corresponding member and the contacts between Hungary and India came to be rather vivid. The Academy published the useful Indian history of Duncker and this work contained some pieces of Sanskrit literature, too. The Secretary of the Academy János Arany (1817-1882) who is probably the greatest Hungarian poet, translated excerpts from the Śakuntalā. A collection of Indian tales was published 1870. A curious event was the great success of the overture *Śakuntalā* composed by Károly Goldmark

(1865) which resulted in a stipend from the Hungarian Government for the composer.

The direct translations from Sanskrit which were not published after Tamaskó, became regular again in the eighties. The period between 1880-1914 can be called fruitful.

A person of distinction of the period was Károly Fiók (1857-1915) a Classical scholar and professor. Fiók had a keen interest for contemporary Sanskrit studies in Europe and India as it is reflected in his critical reviews and papers. He acted as translator, too. The first product of this activity was the Meghadūta in Hungarian (1883) and then appeared the Nala, Śakuntalā, Sāvitrī-story, the story of Daśaratha's death and some other episodes from the Rāmāyaṇa, parts of the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa. A comprehensive survey of Sanskrit literature (126 p.) with numerous citations from the sources was edited in the history of world literature published by G. Heinrich (1903). Since Fiók was a well-trained philologist his papers are reliable and his translations are good from the philological point of view. On the other hand he was not a poet, consequently he could not reproduce the beauties of Sanskrit poetry in original forms. The unhappy practice of literary translation also made an unfavourable influence on his translation. After the establishment of the chair for Indo-German Linguistics at the University of Budapest in 1872 Sanskrit teaching became regular. The first holder of the chair Aurél Mayr (1845-1914) was an outstanding linguist and jurist. Beside some valuable papers on phonetic problems he published a book on *petitio hereditatis* (Indisches Erbrecht, Vienna 1873). His Śakuntalā translation remained unfinished.

The eminent Iranist of the period Sándor Kégl (1862-1920) introduced the Bhagavadgītā to learned circles (1910) and wrote a series of critical reviews on Indology in various journals. He was the learned author of articles on India in the *Pallas Lexikon.* Kégl donated several thousand books to the Academy among which are many invaluable Indian books.

An internationally reputed journal of the age was the *Összehasonlító Irodalomtörténeti Lapok* issued in Transylvania (first issued 1877) with contributions of eminent European scholars on Sanskrit and Gypsy literature and parts of Hāla's Sattasai were published herein. To the same period belongs narrative work dealing with the great epics of the world, also with the Indian.

The wonderful stories of the great Indian epics attracted philologists, and as such appeared the Hungarian version of Nala and Sāvitrī (1886 and 1903-04).

A series of attempts was made to translate Kālidāsa's works : the first chapter

of Kumārasambhava (1894), and Vikramorvaśīyam (abridged edition 1907, complete edition 1914) were the results of this activity. It is a pity that these translations lacked real poetic erudition and additionally the translators were not Sanskritists (they were Classical scholars) who did not understand some passages.

The simple but beautiful stories of Hitopadeśa were translated two times (1884 and 1905-06). However, the whole book still does not have a Hungarian version.

A magnificent event of the years after the First World War was the discovery of Rabindranath Tagore's poetry in Hungary. His fame was crowned by the personal visit to Hungary in 1926. Although he was not a poet of the Sanskrit language, his works have had a very important role in the mission of transferring the great spiritual values of ancient Indian literature, philosophy and religion. His first work in Hungarian was published in 1913 and this was followed by a dozen others between 1920-1925. Two short biographies written by Ervin Baktay appeared at that time. What is the reason for his great popularity ? Above all are to be mentioned the human qualities of the poet, his active role in politics and public life, his opposition to British imperialism.

One of the most important scholars of Indology was Ervin Baktay (1890-1963). He was originally a painter and later his interest turned to Indian literature, art and religion. Baktay began publishing books on India after 1920 : Sanghara 1921, Selected speeches of Mahatma Gandhi 1926, and Tagore's biography. Baktay spent three years in India and travelled extensively. During these years he diligently studied all branches of Indian culture and visited the places where Sándor Csoma Kőrös had stayed. Having returned to Hungary he wrote several volumes covering his journey. These books brought Indian culture nearer to Hungarian friends. Baktay carried out the Hungarian adaptations of several parts of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. He prepared also a free adaptation of the Kāmasūtra. His Sanātanadharma (1936) and the *Diadalmas jóga* 'The victorious yoga' served as good introductory works to Indian philosophy. After 1945 Baktay devoted himself to the history of Indian art and the result of this research was the impressive *India művészete* 'The art of India' (1963).

The activity of Professor József Schmidt (1868-1933) in the field of Sanskrit literature falls in the period after 1919. He was an equally excellent Classical scholar, linguist and indologist and the holder of the chair for Indo-German Linguistics in Budapest. However, he took part in the work of the directorate for education during the Soviet Republic in Hungary (1919), the result of which was his forced retirement. As a retired professor he did a lot for the propaga-

tion of Indian literature and culture in Hungary. His *Buddha élete, tana, egyháza* 'Buddha's Life, Teaching and Church' appeared 1920. This book bears witness to a through-going knowledge of Pali sources as well as of contemporary scientific literature. Schmidt presented a brief but prompt sketch of earlier Buddhism and gave a nice selection from the sources, too. His *Ind filozófia* 'Indian philosophy' was published 1923. Here Schmidt transmits an accurate and critical discerning of the philosophical parts of Vedas, some parts of Upaniṣads, of the six orthodox systems, etc. He is a very steady leader in the jungle of Indian philosophical literature and with his grounded judgements he helped the readers to have access to a comprehensive picture. He is also the author of the book *Óind epika* 'Sanskrit Epics' (1921). This volume embraces the great epics, the mahākāvyas and novels. In the volume can be found the short summaries of the stories and he added to descriptional part a scientific evaluation of each. The single items were closed with a preliminary bibliography. His other work the *Szanszkrit irodalom története* 'A History of Sanskrit Literature' (1924) is still a unique work of its kind in Hungary. The volume contains the whole literature beginning with the Vedas from which emerges that Schmidt studied a lot of the sources quoted in Sanskrit original and he fairly utilised the best histories of Sanskrit literature of his age. Schmidt succeeded in drawing a straight line through the labyrinth of Sanskrit literature, of the controversial views of specialists and so on. The treatment of this complex subject is quite modern and comprehensible. The value of this small book of 222 pages may be rather clear if we take into account that the writing and edition of such works was uncommon in such little countries like Hungary. Schmidt also published a little work on Kālidāsa. Although, it was prepared for popular purposes he successfully introduced Kālidāsa's poetical genius and pointed out his place in world literature. The Hungarian renderings of Sanskrit works by Schmidt are of high philological explicity: Mālavikāgnimitra 1922, Pañcatantra 1924, Mṛcchakaṭika 1925. His Bhagavadgītā remains unpublished.

A good philologist of that period was Pál Büchler. We are indebted to him for the Hungarian translation of some parts of the Mānavadharmaśāstra (1916). He wrote informative articles in the lexicon of world literature (1930) and worked on the Tantrākhyāyikā.

In the time of the Second World War was edited the first Hungarian Bhagavadgītā translated from Annie Besant's English adaptation.

The period after the Second World War opened a new chapter in the field of translations. The common efforts done by publishing houses, philologists and

the most eminent poet-translators brought a new deal. First of all is to be mentioned the activity of Sándor Weöres, the greatest artist of the beauties of the Hungarian language in our days. He carried out a wonderful translation of some parts from Gītagovinda (1958). Weöres having strictly followed the original forms performed an unsurpassed piece of translation literature. His verses are able to imitate the melody, rhythm as well as the ideas of the Sanskrit original. His translations from Amaru and Bhartṛhari and Hāla's Sattasai represent the top-level of translation.

Lőrincz Szabó (1900-1957) one of the greatest poets of Hungarian literature in the 20th century also devoted himself to translation from Sanskrit. He rendered verses from the Bhagavadgītā (he had planned a complete translation!), Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, Kāmasūtra and the famous hymn of Ṛgveda, the *Song of Creation* (ṚV.10.129).

The publication of Kālidāsa's selected works translated by József Vekerdi and József Schmidt and versified by Sándor Weöres, Lőrincz Szabó, Zsuzsa Rab, Gyula Tellér can be regarded as an undertaking of wide scope in Hungary (1961). This brilliant volume comprises Ṛtusaṁhāra, Śṛṅgāratilaka, Meghadūta, some parts of Kumārasambhava and Raghuvaṁśa, the Abhijñānaśākuntala, Mālavikāgnimitra and selections from Vikramorvaśīyam. The Hungarian translation of these works has immensely enriched Hungarian literature, too !

The edition of the most beautiful episodes of Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa and that of the main story of Mahābhārata in original form was also a great achievement of Hungarian translators (1964-65).

Indian fables and fairy tales have always been popular and beloved in Hungary. This tradition is unbroken and a series of collection of fables etc appeared : Pañcatantra (reprint of Schmidt's translation, 1959), Hitopadeśa in selections (1959), Śukasaptati (1962), Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā (1963) and Kathāsaritsāgara in selections (1974). These works made a good influence on the work of the scholars of literature and folklore as well as achieved a huge success in the circles of educated readers.

The Kāmasūtra in Baktay's adaptation was reprinted with photos of Indian erotic sculptures in 1970. Two volumes of Tagore's works were published in 1959 and 1961.

The philologists and translators are busy in our days, too. A complete translation of the Bhagavadgītā, a large collection of Sanskrit narrative literature containing works already edited, and in addition parts from the

Daśakumāracarita, Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā and Bharaṭakadvātriṁśikā, the whole KṛṣiParāśara, excerpts from Chāndogyopaniṣad and the Pali Canon are in the press.

KAMALA RATNAM, NEW DELHI

THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN LAOS (Vientiane version)

Few people know that in earliest times the land known today as Laos was called Muong Xieng Thong or Laem Thong. Its Sanskrit name was Souvannaphoum Pathet (*Suvarṇabhūmi Pradeśa*) meaning regions rich in gold. Souvannaphoum Pathet was a large peninsula situated between the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. According to Mahasila Viravong, the most reliable contemporary historian of Laos, this region included, 2500 years ago, parts of Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. Consequently its cultural history is very much mixed and interwoven with each other. Known as Indo-China during colonial times, the political pattern of the peninsula changed after the routing of the French at Dien Bien Phu at the end of the Second World War. Four clearly marked and self-governing independent States emerged, namely Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. Although all four States observe Buddhism as their religion, Laos and Thailand are ethnically and culturally closer together. They speak a closely related language, easily understood by both sides, although the written script is different. Customs and manners, food and dress, as well as geography bind the Thai and the Lao people even closer together. In fact the entire landmass comprised by Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and some parts of Malaysia has strong cultural ties with India and represents the Indian part of the larger area formerly known as Indo-China. Of these Laos may truly be considered, as its name signifies, 'the unspoilt golden heart of India.' The smiling, gentle and beauty-loving people of Laos represent in themselves all that India has wished to be through her saints, artists and religious teachers. The culture of Laos, Thailand and Cambodia is made up of the earliest forms of Hinduism and Theravāda Buddhism. Consequently it shows the deep meditative and philosophic aspect of the teachings of the Buddha coupled with the aesthetic imagination and literary aspects of the Hindu mind. This entire region is dotted with temples dedicated to Buddha, decorated with figures of Hindu gods and goddesses, united and protected as if within the mother-like embrace of long rows of gilded paintings on the walls depicting the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. Apart from their artistic merits as mural paintings and the sanctity and reverence attached to them as objects of temple worship, the frescos play an important

part in the reconstruction of the Rāmāyaṇa story as it is known in this area.

Indian culture began to spread in Indo-China from the first century onwards. During the next five hundred years the Rāmāyaṇa had gained enough popularity for its author Vālmīki to be considered an incarnation of Viṣṇu and temples were dedicated to him describing his compassion and creativity. A stone image of Vālmīki and a Sanskrit inscription have been found in a temple in Champa (modern Vietnam) belonging to the period of King Prakāśadharma (A.D. 653-678). The inscription reads as follows :

Yasya śokāt samutpannaṁ ślokam Brahmābhipūjitam/
Viṣṇoḥ Puṁsaḥ Purāṇasya Mānuṣasyātmarūpiṇaḥ//

Kamil Bulcke, *Rām Kathā*, p. 273

All of Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos have their own versions of the Rāmāyaṇa story, or the 'Chronicles of Rāma' as versified by sage Vālmīki. The main events and kernel of the story is the same in all cases, but the elaboration and addition of events, description of flora and fauna, customs and manners and geography are peculiar to each region. Thus the Rāmāyaṇa story in Laos although similar to its counterparts in Thailand and Cambodia retains its own individuality and character. As regards composition the Rāmakīrti of Cambodia and the Ramakien of Thailand seem to be older than the versions of the Rāmāyaṇa found in Laos. In Laos the Rāmāyaṇa is present in five forms: (1) dance (2) song (3) painting and sculpture (4) sacred texts to be recited on festive occasions (5) manuscripts, and enjoys popularity in that order. Rāmāyaṇa as dance-drama enjoys pride of place, in the Royal Palace at Luang Prabang and the *Natya Sala* dance school at Vientiane. With the dance-drama goes its appropriate music and song. Rāmāyaṇa as painting and sculpture is seen within the temples. In its richest forms it is found in the court-temples of Luang Prabang, a detailed account of which has been published in the form of an illustrated article by me in Vol. 3 of *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*.[1] It is also found painted in water colours on the inner walls of Vat Oup Moung in Vientiane, a detailed survey of which is the scope of this paper. As sacred text the Rāmāyaṇa is recited for several months during the rainy season in the temples of Vientiane and other important towns, when people from neighbouring localities come to hear it as part of their religious ritual. As regards Rāmāyaṇa mss. Laos does not present a very encouraging picture. One has to keep in mind the fact that till recently there was no printed edition of the Lao Rāmāyaṇa, until the Indian Council for Cultural Relations sent an Indian

[1] Published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1974.

scholar to Vientiane to help in the search and publication of available mss. Accordingly the Lao language text edited by Sachchidananda Sahai was published by the Indian Embassy in Vientiane in 1973. The editor was able to use six mss. as the basis of his work, one of which originally consisting of 43 sections was preserved in the museum of Vat Pra Keo in Vientiane. In 1961 the scholars in Vientiane had informed me that Chao Phet Sarath, a member of the Lao princely family had got a ms. of the *Pha Lak Pha Lam* (Lao title of the Rāmāyaṇa) copied in the year 1933. The work was completed in sixty volumes, each volume consisting of 20 leaves and the whole ms. was carefully preserved in Vat Pra Keo. However, I was told that during the 1945 Japanese invasion of Laos more than half of the Phet Sarath ms. was found missing. As Vientiane was in the grip of civil war in the years 1960-61, and conditions were very unsettled, it was impossible to make further researches or even a close examination of the mss. The published text of the Rāmāyaṇa is in the Lao language and so far no translation is available. Hence its detailed and comparative study will have to wait for some time. Meanwhile we turn our attention to the Vientiane frescos.

It was Mahasila Viravong who personally guided me through the Rāmāyaṇa frescos preserved in Vat Oup Moung and explained them to me. However, before we enter into a description of the frescos, it is necessary to have a little historical background.

BACKGROUND HISTORY

We know that quite sometime before the first century B. C. Indian explorers had reached the peninsula of Suvarṇabhūmi and had established kingdoms there. Chinese records mention a certain Huen-tien, who is no other than Kauṇḍinya, a brāhmaṇa from India, who married the Queen of Fu-nan and established a Hindu kingdom there. Says R. C. Majumdar: "The Hindu empire of Fu-nan probably included not only Cambodia but also Malaya peninsula and Siam, now called Thailand"[2], and that a Hindu kingdom also existed in Laos. The Hindu empire of Fu-nan (modern Vietnam) was responsible for spreading Indian culture in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It came to an end in the sixth century A.D. as a result of its conquest by a far more powerful state of Kambuja (Cambodia), which rose in the north, also ruled by Hindu kings. The new kingdom of Kambuja comprised large parts of its neighbour-

[2] R. C. Majumdar, *Indian Culture in South-East Asia*, B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad, p. 13.

ing territory, including the Central, Southern and Eastern provinces of Laos. During the two hundred years of their building the great temples of Nokorn Thom (A. D. 857) and Angkor Wat (A. D. 1057), the Khmers became very powerful and extended their kingdom upto Xieng Sen and Xieng Rai". It was at this time that the Lao started migrating from South-China and in their southward drive they clashed with the Khmers.[3] The decline of the Hindu kingdoms of Suvarṇabhūmi occured about A. D. 1285 when Kublai Khan, the Mongol ruler of China ransacked the peninsula. The people of Cambodia even in modern times are known as Khmer. To quote Mahasila again: "The Khmer race is of ancient Indian descent. This race has given birth to various ethnic groups known as the Khmer, Mon, Meng, Kha, Khamu and Malay. The Khmer came to settle down in Souvannaphoum Pathet even before the advent of the Buddha, 2500 years ago. But the largest migration took place in the reign of Aśoka Rāja who ruled Pataribud (Pāṭaliputra) from the year 218 to 227 B. E. (325-316 B. C.). According to Mahasila, Emperor Aśoka's war in Kaliṅga was responsible for thousands of "Indians from the southern part of India to live in Indo-China".

Such was the mass of people with predominantly Hindu or Brahmanic culture that confronted the Lao people in their southward march from their original homeland in China. Mahasila claims that the Lao race originated as one amongst the first four that came into being about 100,000 years ago. The ancestors of the Lao race were the Ai-Lao who were settled in the valleys of Hwang Ho and Yang Tse rivers in the heart of mainland China. The Ai-Lao were mainly agricultural people. The word Lao according to Mahasila means big or civilized. The Lao were unmistakeably related to the Chinese as were the Thais. However being temperamentally kind-hearted and peace-loving they were obliged to move southward by the aggressive Chinese towards the end of the thirteenth century A.D. This was precisely the period when the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan was overrunning the Chinese mainland. The pressure of the Chinese compelled the Lao to move southward until they were cribbed in their present little land-stretch of 600 miles which they affectionately called "The Land of the Million Elephants, Kingdom of the White Parasol." For about a century and a half the new home of the Lao was under the control of the Thais who had founded powerful kingdoms of Ayuthya and Sukhothai in Thailand. The weakening of the Thai States in A. D. 1345 favoured the founding of the Lao State proper.

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[3] Mahasila Viravong, *Phongsavadan Lao.*

The founder of the Lao State was Fa Ngum, son of an exiled Lao chief, who had taken refuge at the court of Angkor. He married the daughter of the Khmer king and between A.D. 1340 and 1350 took command of an army to reconquer the lost lands of his father in the upper Mekong. Moving upriver and detouring the plateaux of Xieng Khouang, Houaphanh and Sip Song Phanna, he descended on the site of Louang Prabang where he was proclaimed King. Conquering Xieng Mai in the Upper Menam valley, he took control of Vientiane and swept on to the Khorat plateau as far as Roi. Having organised the conquered lands, Fa Ngum went back to Luang Prabang where in A. D. 1353 he was installed as 'Sovereign of the Kingdom of Lan Xang (Million Elephants)'.

The kingdom of Laos lies north-west to the vast plain of the river Mekong (Me=mother, Kong=Gaṅgā), from where the land rises high into plateau and then on to jungle-covered mountains where rivers are invariably the sole means of communication. Even today surface transport is few and far-between, roads are non-existent and the railway is not heard of. The only railway station is Nong Khai across the river from the city of Vientiane in Thai territory connecting it with Bangkok. The land and mountain-cribbed geography of Laos with no river or sea outlet, is responsible for its secluded and peculiarly beautiful culture. It would be no exaggeration to say that the Lao, like the Balinese, are one of the last people on earth who possess and keep alive the richest and most generous of human qualities cultivated by the inhabitants of this earth. Their isolation has proved a cultural boon to them. Following the Indian way of life and the teachings of the Buddha, which found expression in their art and poetry, the Lāva have remained a people of simple customs and habits deeply marked by a religious awareness synthesised by a feeling of peace and brotherhood with all living beings.

Thus the Indo-Chinese peninsula was the recipient of ancient Indian civilization and culture epitomized by the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and later it received the Buddhist Theravāda philosophy which came to it via Burma and Ceylon. While Buddhism provided the moral basis and a practical code for daily life, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata became entrenched in the emotional and artistic life of the people. In time the art of temple-building, sculpture, carving on wood and stone, drama, theatre and ballet drew their inspiration from the episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Since artistic expression requires ample material resources and comparative freedom from the cares of daily life, the Royal Courts became the repositories of the

Rāmāyaṇa culture. The Buddhist temples with their humanist approach were catering to the social needs of the community. They provided seminaries, schools, hospitals and homes for the aged and disabled, they looked after the poor. The corridors of these temples resounded with the reading of the Rāmāyaṇa text, while their walls were ornamented with murals describing scenes from the sacred Indian texts. In many temples figures of pre-Buddhist Hindu gods and goddesses were boldly chiselled or carved on wood or stone. In fact Buddhism and Brahmanic culture existed side by side, often merging one with the other, providing rich spiritual fare for the kindly and simple people of Indio-Asia. And in all these countries the fabric of beauty inspired by the Rāmāyaṇa provided a splendid canopy for the preservation and protection of the pure moral teachings of the Buddha.

In Laos two versions of the Rāmāyaṇa are known. The Luang Prabang version as found in the Royal Capital and the Vientiane version as found in the province of Vientiane. The Luang Prabang version is found painted on the walls of the Vat Pa Ke temple. The Vientiane version is supported by mss. as well as temple-paintings. Under the personal supervision and patronage of the King, who is a scholar of Indian philosophy and literature and knows Sanskrit, and the facilities provided by him at the court, the Luang Prabang Rāmāyaṇa has remained nearer to its Thai and Indian sources. The Vientiane version described by Lafont as *P'a Lak P'a Lam* (Beloved Lakṣmaṇa Beloved Rāma)[4] though based on the Indian version of the Rāmāyaṇa, is not the translation of any Indian work. On the other hand it is an original recension composed during the first half of the 19th century and reduced to writing much later. None of the six mss. seen by Sahai seem to be earlier than 1931. After a close examination of the mss. Sahai concludes that the Pha Lak Pha Lam written by a certain Phutthaphochan (Buddhaghoṣācārya) existed in Vientiane in A.D. 1850. It is noteworthy that the author of Pha Lak Pha Lam has taken care not to mention Louang Prabang which was the Royal capital of united Laos until about the end of the seventeenth century. Between A.D. 1711 and 1731 the kingdom of Laos had split in three parts, Louang Prabang, Vientiane and Champassac each claiming rivalry over the other. The text of the Vientiane Pha Lak Pha Lam protrays Rāma as a mighty king of Vientiane, exercising considerable control over neighbouring territories. Rāma is shown as achieving political gains through matrimonial alliances. After their victory over Laṅkā, both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa march back to Vientiane through Thai

[4] P. B. Lafont, P'a Lak P'a Lam, École Française d'Extreme-Orient 6(1957).

territory. On their way they establish many new cities including Ayuthya, Pisanulok and Nakhon Savan. This part of the story bears resemblance to facts of actual history according to which military expeditions were sent from Laos against Ayuthya and Pisanulok and marriage alliances were made with them. The text also narrates the extent of Rāma's kingdom from Vientiane to Inthapatthanakhon the capital of Khmer kingdom. The sons of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are shown ruling over large parts of North-eastern Thailand. In fact even today these places situated on the northern banks of the Mekong are claimed as Laotian territory. The above details provide reasonable grounds for the supposition that the author of the Vientiane version of the Rāmāyaṇa was describing post-1731 events when Vientiane had broken away from Louang Prabang and became a separate kingdom. The author Buddhaghoṣācārya was probably a court-poet wishing to extol his king and the new glory of Vientiane. In order to give wide popularity and permanency to his panegyric he wove his legend around the well-known story of the Rāmāyaṇa. During the brief period of the existence of the Vientiane Kingdom (ca. A. D. 1711-1829) Chao Anou (A. D. 1804–1828) appears to be the only important ruler who tried hard for the betterment of the lot of his people and strove to protect his independence from continuous Thai interference. Chao Anou also helped the king of Champassac to quell internal revolts and together the two princes sent three armies to march against Bangkok and shake off Thai domination. Hence it may tentatively be assumed that the author of the Pha Lak Pha Lam was a contemporary of Chao Anou of Vientiane and his work was known in the Vientiane province before A. D. 1850. In his introduction to the Phra Lak Phra Lam, Sahai offers further internal evidence which would support the above theory.

The characters of the Lava Rāmāyaṇa are extremely fresh and novel and except for the bare bones of the plot, they bear little resemblance to their originals in Vālmīki. As a matter of fact they move and behave exactly like Lao men and women and conform strictly to local customs and traditions. The social life, food and dress and the circumstances of general behaviour follow closely the Laotian pattern. Close association with the animal and supernatural world is also maintained as a significant feature of life in Laos. Long passages of love-poetry, reminiscent of the Sanskrit Mahā-hāvya are included as part of the narrative. As a matter of fact the Lao Rāmāyaṇa is a true encyclopaedia of life in Laos. Since diversified knowledge in other books was not available, the Pha Lak Pha Lam became a veritable storehouse of Lao life, culture and habits, customs and manners, flora and fauna, geography and the

history of its men and animals.

In many respects the Laotian version of the Rāmāyaṇa is very similar to those popular in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Cambodia, all of which seem to be based on the local versions of the Rāmāyaṇa prevalent in Bengal and South India. Thus contrary to the strict code of moral discipline of Vālmīki, the characters of the Lava Rāmāyaṇa do not show much regard for logic and purity of relationships. They have their own logic which justifies their ad hoc or chance relationships and actions. For example even important characters like Rāma and Hanumān invariably cohabit and have children from women they happen to meet, and the defeated Rāvaṇa offers a boat to his enemy Rāma for him to travel. In Laotian life enmity and discord are not permanent. They are chance waves to be submerged eventually in the vast sea of piety and friendship.

PHONETIC CHANGES IN THE NAMES OF RAMAYANA CHARACTERS

The proper names of the classical Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa have undergone great change owing to the phonetic peculiarities of the Lava language. Thus:

Rāma	becomes	Pha Lam or Lamma
Lakṣmaṇa	”	Pha Lak
Rāvaṇa	”	Raphanasuane or Phommachak
Hanmān	”	Hanumone or Hullaman
Sītā	”	Nang (Lady) Sida
Laṅkā	”	Langka
Sugrīva	”	Sukrip, and so on.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE LAVA AND THE CLASSICAL RAMAYANA OF VALMIKI

In the Rāmāyaṇa of Laos:

(1) Rāma is given a very unimportant and subordinate role compared to the hero of Vālmīki. In fact throughout the story he appears to be a stranger.

(2) The true hero of the story is Rāvaṇa who is not a demon with 10 heads and 20 arms as in Vālmīki, but a clever and well-read young man of great beauty and charm, enjoying the protection of Indra.

(3) Sītā has a comparatively short and unimportant role in the story. She is the daughter of Rāvaṇa and is not totally averse to the charms of the king of Laṅkā.

(4) Hanumān is the son of Rāma, who leaves his monkey-skin at the end of the story.

(5) All the characters and personages described behave and carry out their activities in the Lao language and in a manner practised in Laos even today.

GEOGRAPHY OF LAVA RAMAYANA

Contrary to other known versions of the Rāmāyaṇa, which have preserved the original Indian names of places and rivers etc. (as in Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and Cambodia), the Lava Rāmāyaṇa has taken place in the land of Laos and in the Mekong valley to be exact. The Pha Lak Pha Lam is in fact a true dictionary of the actual topography of middle Laos. The first 20 phuk (pages) of the work, have nothing to do with the Rāmāyaṇa as such, being a collection of the folkloric geography of the middle Mekong where later on the characters grow and develop. The Lava believe that the Pha Lak Pha Lam was recited by the Buddha himself to the monks of the Settavana (Sreṣṭhavana meaning excellent forest) pagoda.

Thus in all its forms the Rāmāyaṇa in its Laotian incarnation of 'Pha Lak Pha Lam' is a truly national epic enjoying immense popularity.

THE PHOMMACHAK

The Phommachak (Sanskrit Brahmacakra) is an adaptation of the Rāmāyaṇa story by Buddhist monks for their religious purposes. Here the story is treated as a previous life of the Buddha. Rāma is no other than Lord Buddha himself, Rāvaṇa is Devadatta and Sītā is Yaśodharā. Compared to Phra Lak Phra Lam this version of the Rāmāyaṇa is not very popular because having transformed the story the monks failed to provide a parallel iconography, art and theatre for it. In the absence of a cultural visual base, the transformed story failed to grip the imagination of the people.[5]

THE RAMAYANA FRESCOS IN VAT OUP MONG, VIENTIANE

There are 29 murals on the walls of the central hall of the Vat Oup Muong, describing the Pha Lak Pha Lam story. Oup Muong means 'underground hall' or 'tunnel'. Bt the time when I went to see these paintings, the central hall was occupied by Buddhist monks as their place of residence. Their

[5] According to Sahai the narrator of the 'Phra Lak Phra Lam' also claims it to be a Sadok (Jātaka), a Buddhist birth story, exploiting every opportunity to propound Buddhist doctrine. Rāma, the Bodhisattva, is found preaching the Law even to elephants and oxen. However, this aspect of the story has not culturally influenced the Lao people.

clothes and belongings were scattered all over the place. This caused some apprehension in my mind as political conditions were very unsettled in Laos and Vientiane itself was experiencing the ravages of civil war. I was afraid that any time this temple might become a place for taking refuge or war-shelter and eventually be reduced to the status of living quarters resulting in damage and possible total loss of these precious paintings. Consequently I lost no time in photographing the paintings and recording my impressions of them. Below is given a description of the paintings as seen by me during the month of September 1961. The age of the paintings is about 25 years. Apparently they were executed by about the same time when the mss were copied in 1933-35. The story as revealed by these murals differs considerably from the one described by the Luang Prabang murals. A comparative study of the two versions of the story will be the subject of a separate paper. It is to be noted that while describing the paintings, I have tried to keep close to the style of English language used by my guide Mahasila. This is done in order to preserve the peculiarly beautiful flavour of the Lao manner of expression and its impact on the Indian mind.

FRESCO NO. 1

This depicts a scene of Inthapathanakhon. Chao Virunahak is seated in his place. The palace looks like a Vat, curved temple roofs and carved pillars are clearly seen. Virunahak's elder brother Thattarath, King of Varanasi is seated nearby conversing with his wife. Below is the scene of the market-place. Virunahak is childless, he therefore asks his wife to make patthana (prārthanā) in order to get a baby.

FRESCO NO. 2

As a result of the patthana a child is born to Virunahak. The mural shows Loum Lou, the baby Rāvaṇa. His body is deformed, he has no arms and no legs. He is born in a rural area into a farmer's family. The scene shows the water-buffalo (the main agricultural animal of the Laotians), the field and the plough. All looks very peaceful. Loum Lou is actually the imperfect incarnation of Maha Phom (Mahā-Brahmā). As Maha Phom he was very conceited, he thought that he was perfect and refused the advice of the Devas to have his body moulded like theirs before being born on earth. He wanted to come to earth as he was himself, hence he came in the malformed body. In the picture Loum Lou is surrounded by typical Lao village scenery.

FRESCO NO. 3

Pha In (Deva Indra) comes down from heaven on a white horse and asks

the farmer working in his field to give him this malformed body. Two black birds resembling crows are shown inside the field. This baby is going to be born as Rāvaṇa and the crows represent evil.

FRESCO NO. 4

Shows the Palace of Indra in Heaven. It is a very beautiful palace similar in architecture to the Royal Palace of Laos. His horse is tied outside, Indra along with other Devas is remoulding the baby.

FRESCO NO. 5

Again the palace of Pha In (Indra). Loum Lou looks at his new mould which is as fine as the handsome from of Pha In himself. Infatuated with himself Loum Lou goes to make love to Indra's wife Nang Susada. Susada did not know that this was the wrong man until the morning because Indra, her real husband comes to her only once a night. But this time he came a second time. So by this she realized that the first man was the wrong man and unwillingly she had been made guilty of adultery. Accordingly she asked Pha In, her husband, to allow her to come down to earth and be punished. This gesture on the part of Indra's wife is typical of the Laotian morality and strength of character. It is the ability and willingness to suffer for one's own mistakes.

FRESCO NO. 6

Indra and his wife are sitting in the garden of their palace. They are followed by their servants. The seating arrangement is very artistic like two out-stretched wings with Indra and Susada at the base of each wing. Susada asks for permission to go down to earth. In front of them is a beautiful canal filled with blue water and flowers. Indra is sitting on a raised lotus seat.

FRESCO NO. 7

The scene is Laṅkā. Loum Lou is born as Haphanasuan (Haphana = Rāvaṇa, Suan = Asura) the powerful demon. Indra's wife has been born as Nang Sida (Sītā) Rāvaṇa's daughter. The picture shows Nang Sida coming down from one corner into the family of Haphana Suan, when she was born as Haphana's daughter the astrologer came and said that she is not a good girl and she will make trouble for him. So the father was angry. And one day when she was a little girl, she was with her father, and she pointed a knife at him and cut a part of her father's body. The astrologer was called again and asked to explain this event. And he said again the girl was no good. In the mural, Rāvaṇa is speaking to his wife Nang Montho or Mando.

(There is another story of the birth of Montho. The muni took a frog and by his magic-words made a beautiful woman out of it. The same story is

referred to in the famous Kuchipudi ballet Maṇḍūka-Śabdam of Andhra Pradesh.

FRESCO NO. 7

Shows Rāvaṇa sitting on the boundary wall of his palace-garden, he is carrying his daughter Sītā in his arms and is throwing her very far away in the lake inside the Himalayan forests. Here my guide told me that Loum Lou after spoiling Deva Indra's wife went down to earth and was born as the powerful Rāvaṇa, when Indra's wife is born as his daughter he does not remember her.

FRESCO NO. 8

Nang Sida was thrown in the forest. By chance she fell inside a lake. A risi by name Chhanaka (Janaka) came to the lake to collect flowers and he saw Sida. He took her inside his small hut, where he reached her to her youth. When Sida was ready to be married the Risi announced that anyone who wishes to marry my daughter, must pick up a very heavy bow and the one who picks it up would marry her. The picture shows the Risi's house, he is talking with the young girl Sida.

FRESCO NO. 9

Nang Sida has a separate small house built on one support. The house on one support was built according to an old story of a king who had a very beautiful daughter and he did not want her to be molested. So he built a house on top of a very high single support. This story may not be true but it is part of a tradition in Lao literature.

The picture of Sida sitting alone in her high house rouses deep emotion and let loose a stream of thoughts. Her high position, her travails and loneliness become picturised, through the device of the house.

FRESCO NO. 10

The scene is Varanasi Nakhon (Vārāṇasī nagara). Vārāṇasī was governed by Rāma. Pha Lak and Pha Lam are sitting in this picture asking permission from their father to go and pick up the bow. The father is Thattarath. There were only two brothers, of whom Pha Lam was older. The next picture shows the two brothers travelling on a horse. Both are sitting on the same horse. Pha Lak and Pha Lam are united in one personality.

FRESCO NO. 11

A new episode begins here. There was a risi named Totama, who had a big beard inside which two small Nouk Chok (sparrows) had made their nest. One day the bird-couple was quarrelling amongst themselves. "Why did you

go out last night to have another girl?" said the wife. And the husband replied that "no, it was not true. If everything were wrong and not right, and if I were like what you said I was, then I should be heavily wrong like our hospitable Risi!" When the Risi heard this conversation, he asked the birds: "why should I be wrong as you have said I am?" Then the husband bird said: "Because the Risi has no children he should be wrong some way". When the Risi heard this he was not angry, on the contrary he was more or less happy to change his attitude by seeking a way as to how to get a wife. And finally he got the idea that he himself can make a wife. He rubbed his skin and with the dirt thus collected he made a wife for himself with his magic skill. The name of this wife was Nang Kaysi (Kay=mid, si=beauty. In Sanskrit this could also be Kāya-Śrī=Beauty created from the body.) One day when the Risi was absent from his house Phra Athit (Āditya=Sūrya) came down and saw this beautiful woman and he made love to her. Finally she got a son Luksai by name Sukrip (Sugrīva). According to Lao literature Sukrip is not a monkey.

Once again the same thing happened to Kaysi, and this time Pha Chan (Chandra=Moon) made love to her and the second son Phali Chan (also not a monkey) was born. Apart from these two boys, there was still another child, the first-born daughter by name Phong Si (dear beauty). She was the daughter of the Risi, she was his real daughter. During the absence of her father, she had noticed that the two men Phra Athit and Pha Chan came to her mother.

This mural (No. 11) shows the Risi making his wife from the dirt of his body. There is a carved silver bowl in front of him with flowers, candles etc., articles of a typical Laotian religious ceremony. The Risi had not noticed that the two other children were not his own until they were grown up. When all the children grew up the Risi paid much attention to the two sons and the daughter was angry with this attitude. Finally one day she could not resist telling her father that the two boys were not the real family. The father could not believe it. So one day he became sad and not angry, (this is a typically Lao expression as it is difficult for the kindly Lao people to become angry) yet he wanted to see the truth so he meditated and prayed to God that he will throw all the three children in the river (shown in the picture along with crabs and fishes) and said that if they are not my children they should die in the river. But if they are his then God should help them to return to him alive.

In the picture the Risi's āśrama is surrounded by trees and birds. The two brothers did not survive the water-ordeal, only the girl came back. There

is plenty of natural detail in the paintings.

FRESCO NO. 12

The two boys swam out of the river and went to a city named Kukkutavadi. They could not go back to their mother. By chance the governor of Kukkutavadi was dead, so they invited the older brother to become the governor. This mural shows the death-scene of the governor. His body is placed inside an urn. Four soldiers are shown standing on the right side. Their dress below the waist is draped like the Indian *dhoti*—known in the Thai-Lao language as *sampot*. The soldiers have Indian head-dress. They are being preceded by their commander who is requesting the boys coming out of the river to become their governor.

FRESCO NO. 13

This mural is an inset. It shows a group of buffaloes. The chief of the herd is very strong. His name is Thoropha (Dundubai). He kills all his male offspring leaving the female alone to live. One day the mother buffalo gave birth to a male calf. She had gone inside a cave to give birth. Thus she saved her male child and named him Thorophi. Thorophi became strong enough to struggle with his father. He fought him and killed him. Thorophi became very powerful and he ruled all the buffaloes. One day he went to the rice-fields belonging to the neighbouring city of Kukkutavadi and ate up all the rice and destroyed the fields. This he did very often. When the people of the city saw this they went to the chief of the city and reported the matter to the two brothers. Learning this, the brothers decided to kill the animal.

The mural shows the fight between father and son Thorophi and Thoropha. A smaller buffalo is shown on the side, he is Thorophi taking exercise before fighting his father. Later on two bigger buffaloes are shown, their horns locked in struggle. The main part of the painting shows a beautifully shaped buffalo Thorophi fighting Sukrip, Sukrip and Thorophi were fighting outside but there was not enough room so they went inside the cave. The inside of the cave is beautifully shown with brilliant white background. Sukrip has a big sword in one hand and he is holding a noose in his left hand. Sukrip told his brother Phali Chan to wait outside the cave and see. If thick blood comes out then the buffalo is killed; but if light blood comes out then that is his blood and in that case he should close the mouth of the cave with a big stone, so that the buffalo may not come out.

The buffalo was killed and the blood flew out, but unfortunately it had rained and the blood became clearer than usual. The younger brother thought

that Sukrip was killed and he closed the mouth of the cave and went back to the city and proclaimed that his brother was killed and I will be the governor-king and husband of his wife. Sukrip in the meanwhile tried to open the cave but he could not. So he thought that as the buffalo is a very strong animal, I will cut off his head and with the head I will push the stone and by this method he thought he could come out. When he came home and asked his younger brother, "why did you do that?" Phali Chan replied, "well, I thought I saw your blood". So Sukrip wanted to kill him. The younger brother not wanting any trouble, ran away and when he was very tired he stopped in one place and started crying and crying till his tears became a river.

Inside an individual mural on the opposite wall, below the main line of frescos, Pha Lichan is shown kneeling on the ground and the river of tears flowing out. There are tall trees by the river side. On the other side of the river are Pha Lak and Pha Lam. Pha Lak is standing and talking to Phali Chan and Pha Lam is sitting beside a tree behind which their horse, fully saddled, is grazing.

As this is an important mural, I will explain its exact location. We began looking at the murals beginning from the right hand wall as one enters the temples. As we face the clay image of the Buddha, the right side wall has three windows and one door. The Thorophi fresco is the last one on the left side wall.

My guide now provides the next link to the story. After Haphana Suan made love to Pha In's (Indra's) wife, then he was born in the house of Chao Virunahak of Inthapathanakhon in order to be punished.

We also notice that the wall on top of the main entrance facing the Buddha image has the continuation of the 10th fresco of Varanasi Nakhon governed by Pha Lam's father Thattarath. The two princes Pha Lak and Pha Lam are shown seated in the picture asking permission from their father to go and pick up the bow of Chchanaka.

FRESCO NO. 14

Pha Lak and Pha Lam after taking permission from their father, rode on their horse (both brothers are riding on one horse, this is to show their unseparable nature) and came to a manikoth (Manigrodha) tree which was full of fruit. Then Pha Lam climbed the tree and went to the wrong branch and ate the wrong fruit and became a monkey. The picture shows a beautiful tree with many monkeys on it. As a monkey Pha Lam could not come down to be with his brother. As there were two parts of the tree, one part made monkeys and the other part brought them back to human form. This was told to Pha Lak by a Theva (Deva). So he tried to attract Pha Lam to come to the other

side of the tree. This went on for about a month. In the meantime Pha Lam as a monkey, had a monkey wife. Now as shown in fresco no. 11 when the Risi's daughter Phong Si came back from the water-ordeal, her mother was very angry with her after knowing that she had told her father about her two loves. So with her magic she turned her into a monkey. Now that monkey Phong Si came to live on this tree and became Pha Lam's wife.

After some time Pha Lam came to the other side of the tree and became a man and left the place. Sometime after his son Hanumone was born from the womb of Phong Si.

FRESCO NO. 15

After the above incident Pha Lak Pha Lam come to the asom (āśrama) of Chchanaka and Pha Lam is able to lift the bow and marry Nang Sida. Chchanaka is shown in yellow robes sitting in his āśrama. Rāvaṇa has also come to attend the wedding. The mural shows Rāvaṇa very ugly. He loves the girl Sida but he cannot lift the bow. Sida is shown sitting high inside her house built on the single support. Pha Lam is with her, his horse is standing nearby.

FRESCO NO. 16

Pha Lak is driving a one-horse chariot with red wheels and golden spokes. (One pauses to wonder whether such chariots and such horses ever existed in Laos. At the moment they are nowhere to be seen). Pha Lam and Nang Sida are sitting inside the chariot. At this point Rāvaṇa sends a golden deer to cheat them. Sida is attracted by the deer and she wants to have it.

Pha Lam goes on the horse to get the deer. After going some distance Pha Lam tried to shoot the deer, but when he went near it there was nothing. This was because Rāvaṇa himself had taken the form of the deer. In his turn Rāvaṇa shouted in Pha Lam's voice asking for help. Pha Lak heard the voice, but he did not wish to go sensing danger for Sida. But Nang Sida insisted and at last he could not resist and went to help his brother. At that time Haphana Suan came and abducted Sida.

FRESCO NO. 17

(Right hand wall next to entrance facing the grand image of the Buddha). This mural shows Haphana Suan taking away Nang Sida, and the big bird Satayu is trying to prevent him. Satayu is the friend of Pha Lam's father Thattarath. There is tremendous artistic balance in this painting. The figure of Satayu is grandiose, compared to him Haphanasuan is shown very small and

puny. His physical size here symbolizes his moral stature. Haphanasuan removes the ring from Sida's finger. It is a magic ring which is reputed to kill Satayu. He throws the ring at the bird. The bird is killed, not immediately but later. In the picture Satayu has the face of a bird with a crown and human arms from which wings are growing. A very bright sun is shining. Rāvaṇa is shown very large and fierce as he is seen finally robbing Sida. This is how he appears to her at the time of abduction, when Satayu is dying and she is helpless.

The two brothers when they realized that the deer was a magic deer, then they came back to the place where they had left Sida. And they found that she was not there. When they knew that Haphanasuan had stolen Sida, they tried to follow them. Satayu told the brothers that Haphanasuan had stolen Sida.

FRESCO NO. 18

(This is a small one). While following Rāvaṇa, in search of Sītā, the two brothers came to the place where Phali Chan was weeping. The two brothers were so tired that they went out to look for water. They came to a river and tasted the water. But it was salty, so they wanted to know where the water came from. And at last they found Phali Chan from whose eyes the tears had flown into a river.

Pha Lak heard the story of Phali Chan and then took him to his older brother and then Phali Chan asked Pha Lam to help him to go back to his kingdom. He asks him to fight his brother Sukrip.

FRESCO NO. 19

When they arrived at the city of Sukrip (Kukkutavadi, in Thai language this place is called Khitkhin, Sanskrit Kiṣkindhā), they asked Phali Chan to invite Sukrip to come out and fight with him. The fresco shows the two brothers Sukrip and Phali Chan fighting with swords in the air. Then at an opportune moment Pha Lam shoots him with his arrow in the left foot. He died. Sukrip is shown falling down from the air, with Pha Lam's arrow in his foot. On the right side there is a big tree with Pha Lam standing beside the horse. The left side shows 8 soldiers with bannered spears and swords. According to the Laotians, these soldiers are men. On the left side there is a tree with a Kahok (squirrel) on it.

Note: Apparently the names of the two brothers Sukrip and Phali Chan have been reversed in the Lava Rāmāyaṇa. Vālmīki's names are Bāli and Sugrīva, Bāli being the elder brother killed by Rāma.

FRESCO NO. 20

After the death of his brother, Phali Chan became the king of his city.

Pha Lak and Pha Lam went on and on and by chance they arrived at the same tree Manikoth where Pha Lam had eaten the fruit and had become a monkey for a while. Not knowing that this was the same tree, they rested under its shade. A monkey on top of the tree by name Hanumone (in reality Pha Lam's son, but so far not known to each other) took the stone of a fruit and hit the two brothers. He hit Pha Lak playfully who woke up and tried to chase Hanumone away. But Hanumone did not go away, on the other hand he came down and tried to take Pha Lak's bow. By now they were surprised to see the monkey's courage and strength and they tried to ask each other and then they knew that Hanumone is Pha Lam's son. Hanumone was told the story of his birth by his mother.

Now Pha Lam tells Hanumone that he is going to get his first legal wife. (Hanumone's mother was not a legal wife).

Note: At this point Mahasila, my guide was closely questioned by me. According to books read by Mahasila Pha Lam had sixteen wives, Sida being the first. Mahasila feels that this does not sound to be true, and that this might be a modern interpolation. He further thinks that the Rāmāyaṇa story was very much changed and adapted to local conditions in order to be practical, so that local readers may understand it easily. He says that the original story was taken from India.

Returning to the figures shown in the fresco, the two brothers are seen resting on two pillows. (The Laotian pillows are unique in conception and extremely artistic, triangular in shape, they are encased in red and white laced covers.) Their horse is standing nearby. Hanuman has offered to go and find Nang Sida, but he is very strong and powerful. So he wanted a base from which he could take a leap in the air. If he does it from earth, then it will sink with his force, if he does it from a tree, then the tree will break. So the father Pha Lam said "well, you can jump from my knee!" This fresco shows Pha Lam sitting on the ground and Hanumone getting ready to take off from his knee. Pha Lak stands behind the trees. Lizards are shown climbing the trees.

Now it so happened that Hanumone proved to be too powerful, and in his leap he over-stepped the city of Langka and reached the Assom (āśrama) of the Risi. At the end of the fresco Hanumone is shown flying over a tree.

FRESCO NO. 21

The name of the Risi was Nārada. This Risi does not open his eyes, because if he opens his eyes, then everything he sees will burn up. So when he heard the sound that someone had come, he opened his eyes. And Hanumone who had come there to ask the way to Langka was burnt up. The Risi tried

to look for his bowl of magic water to throw on the ashes so that he may know what was burnt. Then it was, that Hanumone came to life and the Risi told him that he had come farther than he should have and he has to go back.

Note: Sahai has this to say about the incident: "One of the most interesting episodes of this journey is their meeting with a sage named Chao Risi Ta Fai, who reduces them to ashes and then restores them to life again". (Introduction to The Phra Lak Phra Lam, p.xxii).

Continuing with our story, that night Hanumone asked the Risi to let him stay there. When darkness came, he asked for a blanket, and the Risi gave him a handkerchief. Hanumone asked, "why this handkerchief? I am big, I need a big blanket". So he began stretching his body, bigger and bigger and the handkerchief began to spread with him. When the Risi saw how powerful Hanumone was, he feared that he might pass over Langka once again. So he wanted to make him a little tired and he threw his cane in his toilet water. Next morning when Hanumone was washing his face, the cane became a leech and stuck on to his forehead. So every time Hanumone wanted to fly away the leech held him back to the basin like an elastic band. The picture shows the basin and Hanumone hovering on top attached by the stretched leech. Nearby there is a well, with a hooked rope for drawing water. Another part of the mural shows the Risi flying on top of the tree getting fruits—apparently for Hanumone's breakfast! This fresco is full of Laotian sense of humour, their love for the extraordinary and bizarre coupled with their sound common sense and logic.

Finally the Risi told Hanumone: "you can go now", and he went to Langka where he saw Nang Sida. She was in the garden. Because at that time Haphanasuan could not leave her inside the house; he was afraid that his wife will see Nang Sida. Hanumone explained to Nang Sida that he wanted her to go back with him to meet his father. But there was one thing which Sida could not accept and that was for somebody else to touch her body. So she told Hanumone to go back alone and explain to his father that if he wants to take her back, he will have to come and fight with Haphanasuan.

Nang Sida did not become Haphana's wife. Haphana tried to get near her, but he could not approach her as her body was hot like fire. And Hanumone agreed to go back and explain the situation to Pha Lam. But before going back he destroyed the garden of Langka. (The story of Sida's body being too hot is a pointer towards her Tejas i.e., her character and chastity. Hence her body temperature is shown to be hotter than that of ordinary men and women. This may also be an oblique and forgotten reference to Sītā's ordeal by fire described by Vālmīki).

FRESCO NO. 22

This is a small mural where Hanumone is shown burning Langka. When Hanumone was busy destroying the garden, then a soldier on guard happened to see a little monkey breaking the branches of the trees and he reported the matter to Haphanasuan who ordered the monkey to be immediately brought before him. Hanumone, though normally very strong, allowed himself to be captured. Rāvaṇa ordered the guards to kill him. They tried hard but could not kill him. Then Hanumone suggested that they wrap his whole body in cloth, wet it in oil and then set fire to it. They did accordingly, and in this manner Hanumone was able to burn the whole of Langka with his burning body. The small sized painting shows Langka burning and Hanumone perched happily on top of the golden steeple. Masses of flames are shown in superimposed red colour.

FRESCO NO. 23

Shows the army of Phali Chan going to help Pha Lam. A big army is shown with horses and soldiers with faces resembling monkeys, but they have human bodies. Phali Chan is riding alone on his chariot drawn by two horses. The driver of Phali Chan is riding separate on another horse. His soldiers are armed with spears and swords.

Pha Lak and Pha Lam are in another chariot also drawn by two horses. Their driver is on a separate horse. Between these two chariots there is an army of monkeys. These monkeys are the soldiers of Pha Lak and Pha Lam. Phali Chan has dark blue flag, Pha Lam has yellow flag with the inscription "Pha Lak Pha Lam's army" on it. In front of Pha Lam's chariot there are more monkeys. Leading them all is the chariot of Hanumone—he has an orange flag with his name inscribed on it. It is interesting to note that monkeys are also riding horses. Hanumone's chariot is also drawn by two horses, while his driver rides separately. Hanumone holds a trident in his hand.

This fresco with the armies of Pha Lam and Phali Chan poised for battle is huge and grand in conception. It occupies the whole of the central wall behind the main image of the Buddha. There is a huge seated Buddha in the temple. It appears that the artist wanted the scene of Rāma's armies in battle array to be the backdrop for the image of his Lord Buddha. The serene countenance of the master, its compassionate glance and elusive smile provide a fitting countrast to the warlike preparations behind.

As the armies were getting ready, a yaksini (yakṣiṇī) Nang Phi Sia Samud comes on the scene. She is shown at the end of this fresco. She has a huge blue body, with large protruding breasts which are falling down. She is

a friend of Haphanasuan and has come to oppose the army of Pha Lam. Hanumone (also known as Hullaman) is shown flying above the yakṣiṇī with his trisul (trident) raised.

FRESCO NO. 24

The next small fresco shows that the yakṣiṇī is dead. After this Haphanasuan sent his first Commander-in-Chief Phanya Sinuha for the purpose of protecting Langka. The small mural shows Phanya Sinuha's tongue which is so enlarged as to cover the whole of Langka. Hullaman is shown piercing this tongue with his trident. Sinuha is dead. The tongue is shown in a dirty ochre colour.

FRESCO NO. 25

This is a large painting showing Haphanasuan throwing out Bibhek (Vibhīṣaṇa) from his palace. On the other side near a grey lake, filled with beautiful lotus flowers are shown Pha Lak, Pha Lam and Hullaman. And they receive Bibhek. Pha Lam is dressed in flowing robes, which at the legs, look like wings, but they are not wings. Pha Lam is shown tall and handsome with Indian features. Especially noticeable are the large liquid eyes full of compassion like lotus-petals floating on the surface of a lake. Pha Lak is equally handsome, well defined features and sharp Indian nose. Hanumone is holding Bibhek, welcoming him. Haphanasuan was assisted by his councillors, six of them in expelling Bibhek. His palace has a splendid curved roof, like the top of a Laotian temple. Bibhek was thrown out because he advised Haphanasuan to return Nang Sida. In the Laotian Rāmāyaṇa Bibhek is the son of Rāvaṇa. In Thailand he is the younger brother, which is according to Vālmīki. In the mural Bibhek is shown like a small child with unpainted body. Only an outline marks his body. This is the artist's attempt to portray the demanding of Bibhek's personality and self-respect by Haphanasuan. Bibhek is the symbol of the spiritual havoc suffered by those who came in contact with the everbearing guilt and conceit of Haphanasuan and his self-willed stubbornness bordering on self-destruction. The artist has affectionately surrounded Bibhek's denuded body with luxuriant hills and forests all round.

FRESCO NO. 26

Shows the army of Haphanasuan ready to fight Pha Lak Pha Lam's army. His soldiers are fierce-looking men in blue tunics and yellow-edged red half-pants. They are barefooted carrying huge maces, tridents and red flags. Haphanasuan is riding on his chariot drawn by two horses. His driver is riding separately. There is thick forest all around. Some soldiers are riding on horseback. Haphanasuan's chariot is well decorated with a beautiful red

silk umbrella, the sign of kingship. Some of his soldiers are in yellow-edged brown shirts and red pants. They are riding red horses.

FRESCO NO. 27

This is an ambitious fresco showing the actual fighting between the two armies. The fighting pairs are shown as under :

Phali Chan fights Kumbhakan. Their arms are dagger and bow. Phali Chan has the bow.

Hullaman fights another general (name not identified). They fight with mace and trident. Hanumān wields the mace according to the Indian tradition.

Note: In the Indian tradition Hanumān and Bhīma the Pāṇḍava brother, both are sons of Vāyu. Both carry the gadā or mace. In the wayang tradition of Indonesia Hanumān and Bhīma are identified by their dress. Their lower garment has a black and white checked design very much like that of a chessboard.

Pha Lak fights another general (unidentified, but most probably Intajit (or Meghanāda son of Rāvaṇa). Both of them fight with bows (Khansom in Lao).

Below, monkeys and Haphana's men are shown locked in combat. Their movements are not very fierce. They are gentle, flowing movements like those in a Laotian ballet. The monkey movements are very graceful and interesting. One monkey turns round and examines his tail. The fighting is going on in Langka. Hullaman built a bridge of stone across the sea, for the armies of Pha Lak Pha Lam to cross over.

FRESCO NO. 28

This is a small mural. It shows Hanumone bringing a rock containing medicine. It is a huge block of stone wrenched from the womb of the mountain, and he clings to it with both arms. When Hanumone went to look for the medicine, the medicine was down, when he went down, the medicine went up. Hence he was obliged to bring the whole rock. He brought the medicine for Pha Lak who was wounded. Hanumone's character and activities show Laotian sense of humour and well-being.

FRESCO NO. 29

Haphanasuan is killed by Pha Lam. And Pha Lam is shown returning to his capital with Nang Sida. The mural shows Pha Lam going to Vārāṇasī in one chariot which is drawn by two horses. Pha Lam's chariot has a red and grey flag; he is driving the chariot himself, followed by Pha Lak on horse back, followed by Phali Chan also on horseback. Last of all comes Hullaman in a chariot. Below are soldiers and monkey-armies. They are amusing themselves. This is a typically Laotian end to the episode.

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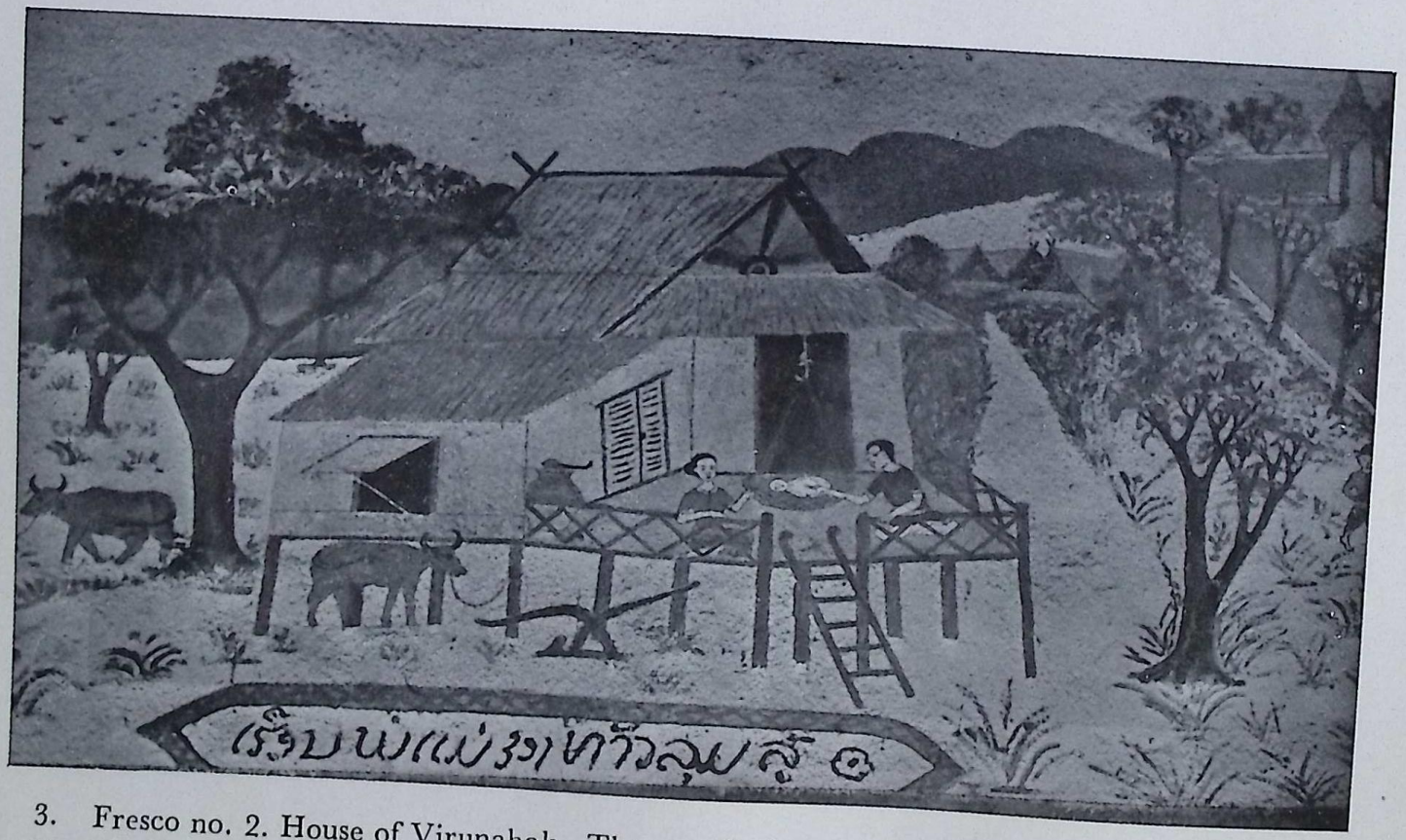
2. Vat Oup Muong, Vientiane



3. Fresco no. 2. House of Virunahak. The mural shows Loum Lou, the baby Rāvaṇa. He is born in a rural area into a farmer's family. The scene shows the water-buffalo (the main agricultural animal of the Laotians), the field and the plough. Loum Lou is actually the imperfect incarnation of Maha Phom (MahāBrahmā).

4. Fresco no. 5. The Palace of Pha In (Indra). Loum Lou looks at his new mould which is as fine as the handsome form of Pha In himself. Indra's wife Nang Susada has realised that she was cheated by Loum Lou and became guilty of adultery unknowingly. She asks her husband Pha In to allow her to come down to earth and be punished.

5. Fresco no. 7. Rāvaṇa is sitting on the boundary wall of his palace-garden. He is carrying his daughter Sītā in his arms and is throwing her very far away in the lake inside the Himalayan forests. Left part of the mural shows a risi by name Chhanaka (Janaka) who has gone to the lake to collect flowers. Nang Sida had fallen inside this lake, Chhanaka takes her to his hut and reaches her to youth.

6. Fresco no. 9. Nang Sida has a separate small house built on one support. This picture of Sida sitting alone is based on a traditional story of Lao literature. A king, who had a very beautiful daughter and did not want her to be molested built a house for her on top of a very high single support. The high position, travails and loneliness of Sida have been picturized through the device of this house.

7. Fresco No. 11. Risi Totama is making a wife for himself from the dirt of his body. There is a carved silver bowl in front of him with flowers, candles etc. articles of a typical Laotian religious ceremony. The left part of the mural shows his wife with his daughter and the two other boy-children she had conceived after being seduced by Pha Athit (the Sun) and Pha Chan (the Moon).

The āśrama of the Risi is surrounded by birds who play an important part in the story.

8. Fresco no. 15. Pha Lak Pha Lam come to the asom (āśrama) of Chhanaka and Pha Lam is able to lift the bow and marry Nang Sida. Chhanaka is shown in yellow robes sitting in his āśrama. Rāvaṇa has also come to attend the wedding. The mural shows Rāvaṇa very ugly.

9. Fresco no. 16. Pha Lak is driving a one-horse chariot with red wheels and golden spokes. Pha Lam and Nang Sida are sitting inside the chariot. At this point Rāvaṇa sends a golden deer. Sida wants to have the deer. Pha Lam goes on the horse to get the deer.

10. Fresco no. 17. Haphanasuan (Rāvaṇa) is seen taking away Nang Sida. The big bird Satayu is trying to prevent him. The figure of Satayu is grandiose, compared to him. Haphanasuan is shown very small and puny. His physical size here symbolizes his moral stature. Rāvaṇa is throwing the magic ring at Satayu to kill him. (This mural faces the grand image of the Buddha in the temple.)

11. Fresco no. 20. This is an earlier portion of this mural. Pha Lak and Pha Lam have arrived at the tree Manikoth where Pha Lam had eaten the fruit and had become a monkey for a while. It was here that he married Nang Phong Si (daughter of Risi Totama) and a monkey son was born to him who was later known as Hanumone. Mural shows Pha Lam on top of the tree in the shape of a monkey meeting Nang Phong Si.

12. Fresco no. 23. This shows the army of Phali Chan going to help Pha Lam. Phali Chan is riding alone on his chariot drawn by two horses. The driver of Phali Chan is riding separate on another horse. Pha Lak and Pha Lam are in another chariot also drawn by two horses. Their driver is on a separate horse. Pha Lam has a yellow flag with the inscription "Pha Lak Pha Lam's army."

ELEANOR MORON, WARREN, MICH. (U.S.A.)

CONFIGURATIONS OF TIME AND SPACE AT ANGKOR WAT

The temple of Angkor Wat in Cambodia was built in the first half of the 12th century by Sūryavarman II (r. 1131-ca. 1150 A.D.). During this construction period, the architects carefully counted steps and pillars and planned the lengths of important dimensions. The Khmer priests worked like mathematicians juggling a complex system of numerical sets. These sets were composed of the measurements of the temple, measurements based on a cubit length of .43545 meters.[1] The system was the design of the temple itself.

Even though Angkor Wat contains a form of numerical cosmology coded into its measurements, its sculpted dimensions also have the power to captivate human sensitivities. Numbers taper upward in the height of a tower or telescope toward infinity through the doorways of a long corridor. Visitors respond to the architecture as they walk through chambers with lengths such as 21, 32, 33 and 54 cubits.[2] In this manner, the architecture interprets an abstract arithmetical language expressed through forms. It offers measurements shaped in space so that we may experience them subjectively.

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[1] The author determined this cubit length from the plans by Guy Nafilyan, et al., in *Angkor Vat, Description Graphique du Temple*, Mémoire Archéologique IV (Paris : Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1969). When the axes of the central sanctuary (between the inner doorsteps) were divided by 12, they gave .43545 m. as the cubit length. Once the unit was derived from the axes of the central sanctuary, it was tested on several hundred different dimensions of the temple. A few of the significant measurements occur in Robert Stencel, Fred Gifford and Eleanor Morón, "Astronomy and Cosmology at Angkor Wat," *Science* 193 (July 23, 1976) : 281-287. Subsequent to these measurements, the written measurements of the central sanctuary in Georges Trouvé, "Chronique," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 35_2(1935): 483-486, suggested a cubit length of .435 m. However, the .43545 m. cubit is more consistently accurate (with results closer to whole numbers).

[2] The measurements used in this study were obtained from the plans published by Guy Nafilyan (see n. 1 above) and from written figures. Mr. Nafilyan generously provided the author with all the written measurements in his possession. Certain areas of the temple, however, no longer have written

One journey into the philosophical concepts and numerical sets of Angkor Wat begins on the first step of the western entrance bridge. As the visitor travels eastward along the main axis, a sense of unbounded space is engendered by the extensive western courtyard. At the end of that courtyard, a compact succession of three central galleries increasingly structures and restricts space (Fig. 1). By the time one emerges onto the porch across from the upper elevation, this structuring is suddenly dramatized. At this point, the massive central gallery first appears in its full height. Just ahead, the steeply angled substructure of this first gallery[3] rises like the summit of Mt. Meru. This unique confrontation creates an awareness of transition, and rightly so. Without knowing it, the visitor crossing the threshold onto the porch of the second gallery has walked along a distance of 1,728 *hat* (cubits) since the first step onto the bridge[4] (Fig. 2 A-B). In other words, a length equivalent in significant numbers to the *kṛta yuga* (1,728,000 years) introduces the central superstructure of Angkor Wat.

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lengths available. These areas include the western entrance bridge, the long walkway to the center of the temple, the distance between the fourth enclosure and the moat, and the balustrade wall around the center of Angkor Wat. In spite of this fact, numerous cross-measurements and combinations of written measurements prove the validity of the lengths obtained from the published plans. The author is substantially indebted to Guy Nafilyan since his cooperation and the accuracy of his plans of Angkor Wat made this study possible.

[3] Galleries or enclosures in a Khmer temple are numbered from the center outward. Thus, the first gallery at Angkor Wat is on the upper elevation and the fourth enclosure is the outermost wall around the temple compound. The balustrade wall around the central three galleries is not counted in this numeration, adopted from Guy Nafilyan.

[4] All measurements in this study are listed in the Measurement Chart (in Table 1), according to their sequence of presentation. Only the notes will explain (if necessary) how the measurements were originally obtained. The end of this particular 1,728 *hat* length is the eastern threshold of the main western entrance chamber in the second gallery. (This distance includes the width of the eastern threshold.) The exact *kṛta yuga* length is 752.47 m. or 1,728.03 *hat* (cubits). This length was determined by adding the following measurements :

a. The length of the bridge, from its first step to the first step of the western entrance is 234.30 m. This is equivalent to 93.72 cm.,

In front of this doorway out of the second gallery, the porch and a walkway stretch for 34 *hat* across the courtyard to the grand western staircase.[5] From the first step of the staircase all the way to the outer edge of the moat far to the east, a second *kṛta yuga* extends across the temple grounds[6] (Fig. 2.C-D).

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measured on Pl. LXXXIV, Pavillon d'Entrée Ouest du IVe Enceinte, Chaussée d'Accès; Plan, Coupe, Élévation; Échelle 1/250. (Subsequent references to a plan will refer only to its roman numeral. All plans are from Nafilyan, *Angkor Vat.*) There are no written measurements available for the bridge.

b. The distance between the first step of the western entrance of the fourth enclosure up to the centre of that entrance is 22.25 m., according to written measurements.

c. The distance between the center of the western entrance and the centre of the second gallery is 491.07 m., according to written measurements.

d. The distance between the center of the second gallery and the outer edge of its eastern threshold, main western entrance chamber, is 4.85 m., according to written measurements.

The above figures equal 234.30, 22.25, 491.07 and 4.85 for a total of 752.47 or 1,728.03 *hat* in all.

[5] Both the base and the first step of the western staircase are covered by the raised walkway that connects the first and second galleries. The east porch of the western entrance to the second gallery measures 5.46 m. or 12.54 *hat* up to its eastern balustrade. The causeway extends from the balustrade to the western staircase for a distance of 9.36 m. or 21.49 *hat*. If one were to count both the porch and the walkway as a continuous unit, the full length would be 34.03 *hat* (14.82 m.). All of these measurements were obtained from written figures.

[6] This second *kṛta yuga* length is not as exact as its western counterpart. It measures 755.97 m. or 1,736.07 *hat* in all. The following measurements were used to determine the *kṛta yuga* distance :

a. The length of the western staircase between the causeway and the edge of the western porch is 12.10 m., according to Pl. XIV; Massif Central; Plan du IIIe Étage; Échelle 1/100 (excluding the step covered by the walkway).

b. The distance between the edge of the western porch and the center of the sanctuary is 30.545 m., according to written measurements.

Thus, the final form of the west-east axis of Angkor Wat was not only a function of practical or aesthetic concerns. For reasons lost along with a written and oral tradition, numbers dominate the dimensions of the temple. It would appear that the Khmer architects planned Angkor Wat to harmonize with their concepts of time and space. Perhaps this sense of harmonics, of the "music of the spheres," required that a physical structure be given a numerical identity. Or perhaps the numerology of the temple was based on a need to record cosmological and historical data. Whatever the causes may have been, one of the results is that Angkor Wat expands westward and eastward through the *kṛta yuga* time period. The visitor crosses into the *kṛta yuga* when entering the temple on the west and crosses out of it when leaving in the east.

The visitor also walks into the *kṛta yuga* when entering the gallary of bas-reliefs. Because of the action in these reliefs, the meaning of the plain 1,728 *hat* number is filled in and colorfully detailed. One turns from a dictionary definition to a lively expression of belief.

All along the corridors of the third gallery, the low reliefs lightly contour the inner wall. In the late afternoon, the warriors on the western wall are suffused in the red glow of the setting sun. The southern scene on this wall represents the slaughter at Kurukṣetra. While the low rays of the setting sun

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c. The distance between the center of the sanctuary and the center of the eastern entrance chamber of the fourth enclosure is 474.625 m., according to written measurements. This axial length is an average of the lengths of the parallel walls on the north and south (475.59 m. and 474.66 m., respectively). As a general rule, all axial measurements obtained from written figures are an average of the two parallel walls of a chamber or sides of a rectangle. Axial measurements *per se* were not recorded by Mr. Nafilyan.

d. The distance between the fourth enclosure and the inner edge of the moat is approximately 41.50 m., obtained from Pl. II; Plan Masse; Échelle 1/5,000. This length is equal to .83 cm. on the plan. It should be emphasized that at this scale, the width of a line on the plan is equal to five meters on the ground. Because of this fact, it is imperative that measurements be taken from the exact center of each line.

e. The width of the moat is 197.50 m., or 79.00 cm. on Pl. LXXXIV. This width is assumed to be constant all around the temple.

The total of the above figures results in 12.10, 30.545, 474.625, 41.50 and 197.50 m. for 755.97 m. or 1,736.07 *hat*.

may allude to the eclipse of the Kauravas, the battle itself may allude to Sūryavarman's own battle for the throne. If so, then the history of Sūryavarman's reign and the major bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat begin together with this scene.[7]

Once the visitor has passed the Battle of Kurukṣetra on the west wall, he or she would turn left at the southwest corner pavilion. On the south wall of the next corridor, the king himself gazes outward with a detached and regal composure. He is reviewing his troops, his prisoners of war and his ministers.[8] Later on, he joins them in procession.

The visitor walks along with this procession until it ends at the central entrance chambers of the corridor. After that interruption, Yama appears judging the good and evil deeds of men and women. The decisions of this powerful divinity send a sorry lot of people into the 32 hells while a more fortunate group quietly ascends to the heavens.[9]

Even though Sūryavarman's procession ends at the south entrance

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[7] The directionality of these bas-reliefs (or the lack of it) has been discussed by George Coedès in "Angkor Vat, temple ou tombeau ?" *BEFEO* 33_1(1933): 303-309. F.D.K. Bosch identified Sūryavarman with Viṣṇu, understanding the king as divinized in that form. His theory was proposed in "Notes archéologiques, le temple d'Angkor Vat," *BEFEO* 32_1(1932):7-21. In the analysis presented here, both Viṣṇu and his *avatāras* are interpreted as representations of the king. However, this type of representation may simply be a divine metaphor, meant to exalt but not deify the king. Much the same type of glorification can be found in Khmer inscriptions which constantly compare the kings to the gods. It is suggested here that the circumambulation is counterclockwise and begins on the southern half of the west wall.

[8] This scene is illustrated in Louis Finot, *Le Temple d'Angkor Vat*, Mémoires Archéologiques II, 3 parties (Paris : Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1929), pt. 3, III, pls. 497-515. Because of their aspect, the men and women in the foreground could be prisoners of war captured in the battle symbolized on the west wall. These figures have a somewhat subdued, if not dejected, tenor.

[9] Ibid., pt. 3, III, Pls. 522-560.

[10] These inscriptions are translated in George Coedès, "Les basreliefs d'Angkor Vat," *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine* (1911): 201-207.

[11] Hubert de Mestier du Bourg, "La Première moitié du XIe siècle

to the third gallery, the king himself may have continued on in the guise of Yama. In this role, Sūryavarman is also glorified as the Dharmarāja. In effect, the king might well have exercised a final judgment on his ministers and servitors at this very crucial moment in time (following the real, historical chain of events proposed here). In this period just after a civil war and just before the installation of a new authority, one of the king's major roles would be judicial in nature. Sūryavarman II had to pass judgement on the factions that contended for power before he could establish his own administration. Also, there is an oath of allegiance to a new king that refers to the 32 hells. One section of the oath of allegiance to Sūryavarman I (r. ca. 1006-1050 A. D.) says in a clearly stated threat : "If there are any traitors among us, may they be reborn in the 32 hells for as long as moon and sun last."[11]

The somber overtones of these reliefs disappear in the next scene on the east wall. Here, the Churning of the Sea of Milk yields the promise of eternity through *amṛta*.[12] It suggests a renewed life under a new rule. In this scene, benefits are derived from the cooperation of *devas* and *asuras* working together under Viṣṇu.[13] Once again, a close analogy can be drawn to actual, historical circumstances. Since Sūryavarman came to the throne by force, his reign would also require the cooperation of former enemies under the aegis of the new king. Just as in the churning scene, opposing factions would have to work together in order to produce benefits for everyone. Therefore, among a variety of possible interpretations, this scene can symbolize a new unity brought about by the rule of Sūryavarman II.

The scene may also have a specific historical basis, in that it could be a symbol of some special imperial event. One Khmer inscription discusses a major royal oblation in 1119.[14] Whether or not the scene refers to a particular ceremonial occasion, it represents an apogee of royal and divine creative power. The king, as symbolized by Viṣṇu, is an omniscient power for good, a savior of

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au Cambodge : Sūryavarman Ier, sa vie et quelques aspects des institutions à son époque," *Journal Asiatique* 258_{3-4}(1970):300.

[12] The churning scene is illustrated in Finot, "*Angkor Vat*," pt. 3.II, pls. 351-369.

[13] I am grateful to Dr. Hiram Woodward of the University of Michigan for this and many other helpful observations.

[14] This inscription is translated and discussed in George Coedès and Pierre Dupont, "Les stèles de Sdŏk Kak Thoṃ, Phnoṃ Sandak et Práḥ Vihār," *BEFEO* 43(1943-46):144-145, st. 3-7. The same phrasing is found in both

the world. This exalts the Khmer ruler far beyond any other relief in the gallery. With this final glorification, the sequence begun on the west wall is completed. Sūryavarman began as a warrior and a commander-in-chief. He continues in the reliefs as a judge of men and finally, as a purveyor of all the benefits derived from the Milky Ocean.

The Churning of the Sea of Milk also signals the importance of the sun at Angkor Wat. The rising sun illuminates the churning scene each morning. At every spring equinox, the sun begins its new year shining on this relief. Furthermore, a certain solar dichotomy exists between the churning scene on the east and the Battle of Kurukṣetra on the west. Both scenes display an opposition in content, orientation and relation to the sun.

In content, the Battle of Kurukṣetra was the worst massacre in Indian legend and history. However, the churning scene augurs a renewal and extension of life through *amṛta*. In orientation, the warriors kill each other on the west while the churning scene encourages life on the east. In relation to the sun, the dimming light of late afternoon soon reduces the western battle to vague images fighting in the dark. However, the churning scene rises out of the blackness of night each morning. It becomes brighter and brighter as the morning sun ascends. In the afternoon, the light on the east wall decreases as the light on the west wall increases. Because of these facts, the two scenes oscillate in an eternal reciprocity. When understood as allegorical, however, these reliefs suggest that the reign of Sūryavarman was acquired through bloodshed but initiated a new era of creativity and promise. Not only do the means justify the ends, but the solar alternation intimates a continual repetition of the same process. More wars would follow.

In fact, more wars do follow. Beyond these reliefs, a long series of battles is fought across the entire northern half of the gallery. Viṣṇu and the *devas* are enthusiastically crushing the forces of evil amidst a great deployment of infantry and weapons.

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the Phnoṃ Sandak and Práḥ Vihār steles, which state that : "In 1041 Śaka, 5th day of the waxing moon.....of Śrāvaṇa, a Monday, H. M. Śrī Sūryavarmadeva was in the hall....., the distinguished brahmans, the distinguished members of the royal family (*rājakula*), princes (*rājaputra*), grand counsellors, generals, the four distinguished Inspectors of Qualities and Defects, the four Anak Sañjak, the head of the Royal Treasury, the Anak Sañjak heads of the Vraḥ Laṃvāṅ, all were joined in audience at the moment when the venerable and distinguished Guru Śrī Divākarapaṇḍita pronounced the oblation formula. H. M. Śrī Sūrya-

Although Sūryavarman II went to war on several occasions, one does not know for certain if these battles refer to his military history. While leaving this question open, specific inferences can still be gathered from the reliefs. The third gallery very clearly names and depicts the actual king on the south wall. Similarly, it explicitly illustrates 21 *devas* on the north wall, exactly opposite the king. In general terms, Sūryavarman, his entourage and his early history lie south of the west-east axis of this gallery while Viṣṇu and the *devas* dominate the north.

Varāha Mihira (fl. ca. 550 A.D.) describes the home of the *devas* in chapter XIII of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* :

St. 1 "The round ball of the earth, composed of the five elements, abides in space in the midst of the starry sphere, like a piece of iron suspended between magnets;

St. 2 [And is] covered on all sides with trees, mountains, towns, groves, rivers, oceans and other things. In its middle there is Sumeru, the abode of the gods. Below (i.e., at the pole opposite to Meru), there are placed the Asuras.

St. 27 For those who dwell on the back of Meru, the sun once risen remains visible for 6 months, while he moves in the six signs beginning with Aries; for the Asuras he is visible as long as he is in the latter (half of the ecliptic)."[15]

A modern astronomer would say that the *devas* live at the north celestial pole and the *asuras* at the south celestial pole. Therefore, while the sun is visible at the north pole for the six months between the spring and autumn equinoxes, the gods are experiencing their day and the *asuras* their night. During the six months between the autumn and spring equinoxes the reverse is true.

In solar terms, this northern relief belongs to the gods. It is bathed in sunlight during the six months of their celestial day. During the night of the gods between the autumn and spring equinoxes, the *devas* fight on in dark shadow. The architects were inspired with infinite imagination and a deep desire for precision when they chose this northern wall for the 21 divinities. In an idiom

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varmadeva descended.....did obeisance and ordered this stele inscribed." (author's English translation)

[15] Varāha Mihira, *The Pañchasiddhāntikā*, trans. G. Thibaut and Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhākara Dvivedī (Benares : E.J. Lazarus and Co., 1889):69 and 72, st. 1-2 and 27.

based on lively illustration and the movement of the sun, the *devas* are related to the north in general and to the northern sector of Angkor Wat in particular. As for the *asuras*, they might well be depicted by the demons in the hell scenes on the south wall.

Because of its content and relationship to the sun, the northern sector of the gallery of bas-reliefs is dominated by the celestial powers-that-be. Similarly, the southern half is animated by the historical king. These celestial and terrestrial manifestations of power were conceived as dynamic, interacting forces. Sūryavarman is glorified in divine terms. The *devas*, dressed in Khmer clothing, could be fighting Khmer battles.

From yet another point of view, the third gallery presents royal and divine authorities forever opposed in a solar dialectic. The sun alternately favors the gods or the king, depending on the time of year. During the "winter" months, the king is illuminated on the south wall while the *devas* remain in darkness. During the summer months, the sun leaves Sūryavarman in deep shadow. This alternation repeats the daily solar oscillation between the scenes of Kurukṣetra and the Churning of the Sea of Milk. Only the temporal scale changes. Moreover, an alternation of great forces is also graphically illustrated by the churning scene. As Mt. Mandapa gyrates, its movement duplicates a *yin-yang* type of dynamism between day and night, gods and *asuras*, heaven and earth, and divinity and royalty.

Because the reliefs are joined in one architectural rectangle, however, they are presented like the elements in a set. In addition, the gallery is an independent architectural unit that facilitates circumambulation. By means of the rite of circumambulation, the scenes are paginated in a steady chronological and spatial sequence. In general, the presentation of the reliefs both as a group and in sequence gives them an over-all unity.

Another bond between the mundane and divine aspects of the reliefs is the *kṛta yuga*. Invisible without the aid of surveying equipment, the length of the path of circumambulation is 1,728 *hat*[16] (Fig. 3). This path is measured from the first step into the western entrance chamber and around the center of

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[16] The exact measurement of the circumambulation path is 752.63 m. or 1,728.40 *hat*. The distance between the western and eastern threshold of the western entrance chamber is 12.95 m., according to written measurements. The total distance around the center of the gallery is 739.68 m. This latter measurement is written on Pl XI; Schéma d'Implantation; Échelle 1/500. The circumambulation length then, is equivalent to the west-east interior axis of the

the gallery. It ends with the last step out of the entrance chamber. That is to say, it also includes the distance from the western to the eastern threshold in the western entrance. Aside from its numerical length, the character of the circumambulation path is also significant. The cyclical recurrence of each *kṛta yuga* is duplicated in both the cyclical journey of circumambulation and its repetitive nature. Thus, although the *devas* on the north and Sūryavarman on the south are posted opposite each other, they are related. The movement of the sun, the complementary positions of opposite bas-reliefs and the rite of circumambulation join the *devas* and Sūryavarman in a dynamic interaction. Finally, it is the circumambulation path of 1,728 *hat* which provides a time period for this interaction.

One might say that this gallery unites Sūryavarman and the gods while it simultaneously engenders the *kṛta yuga*. Nevertheless, the inanimate third gallery is only a means of transmitting data. One must look elsewhere for the forces that first combined royalty, divinity and time. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that Sūryavarman II, in union with the gods, inaugurated the *kṛta yuga* and enshrined it in the temple of Angkor Wat.

In reality, circumambulation and the function of each chamber conspire to alter the *kṛta yuga* distance. The footsteps of former worshippers at Angkor Wat did not echo through empty rooms. Each important chamber once contained a major statue, its own particular deity. In consequence, one finds that a great route of circumambulation was regularly punctuated by smaller circumambulations. In spite of this fact, however, the straight, uninterrupted distance around the third gallery remains 1,728 *hat*. Since this distance measures 1,728 *hat* and nothing else, it specifically joins the *kṛta yuga* to Sūryavarman II and the *devas*. It is a symbolic length, an abstract distance for an abstract concept of unity.

The north-south axis of Angkor Wat has two nearly perfect *kṛta yuga* distances. This axis is too short to encompass 752 meters (or 1,728 *hat*) on each side since it is only 1,292 meters long.[17] Nevertheless, the architects found a way to circumvent this limitation.

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entrance chamber and the circumference of the gallery, or 12.95 and 739.68 m. for a total of 752.63 m. in all.

[17] The written figures for the lengths of the western and eastern sides of the fourth enclosure are 816.02 and 814.10 m., respectively. An average of 815.06 m. was taken as the axial length. The distance between the fourth enclosure and the inner border of the moat on the north and south was estima-

The length from the first step of the southern porch of the gallery of bas-reliefs up to the northern border of the moat is 1,734 *hat.*[18] There are also 1,724 *hat* between the first step of the northern porch of the gallery of bas-reliefs to the southern border of the moat[19] (Fig. 2, E-F and G-H). These distances extend from the northern and southern entrances of the third gallery so as to include the entire north-south axis of the temple. Since there are no bridges on the north or south of Angkor Wat, these two distances are clearly symbolic. No one can walk along their full length. They seem to be there to satisfy a need for numerical and cosmological concordance. Once again, the beneficent *kṛta yuga* gives an auspicious aura to a major distance at Angkor Wat.

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ted from Pl. II. These two distances were .87 cm. or 43.50 m. on the ground (north) and .77 cm. or 38.50 m. (south). The width of the moat is 197.50 m. (see n. 6, section e). Thus, the width of the moat on the north and south is 395.0 m., the fourth enclosure covers 815.06 m. and the distance between the moat and the fourth enclosure is 43.50 m. (north) and 38.50 m. (south) for a total of 1,292.06 m. or 2,967.18 *hat.*

[18] In this length, the width of the moat and the distance between the moat and the fourth enclosure were already established at 197.50 and 43.50 m. (see n. 17 above). The following written lengths are then added together to obtain the final length :

a. The northern half of the fourth enclosure measures 408.675 m. to the center of the temple. This is an average of the western and eastern sides of the enclosure, 408.58 m. and 408.77 m., respectively.

b. The distance between the center of the temple and the center of the southern corridor in the third gallery is 82.375 m. This is an average of 82.41 m. for the western side and 82.34 m. for the eastern side of the southern half of the third gallery. These measurements are written on Pl. XI.

c. The length between the center of the southern corridor and the first step of the southern porch of the third gallery is 23.17 m., according to written measurements.

The total of the above components equals 755.22 m. or 1,734.34 *hat.* Not all the *yuga* lengths at Angkor Wat have perfect round numbers.

[19] The southern *kṛta yuga* length was calculated from the following components :

a. The distance between the center of the temple and the fourth enclosure is an average of 406.385 m. This average was taken from the

In summary then, the western and eastern halves of Angkor Wat expand outward from specific architectural points that begin a *kṛta yuga* distance. Likewise, the north-south axis includes two *kṛta yuga* lengths. In this manner, the *kṛta yuga* fills Angkor Wat from the center of the temple to its periphery. By means of this unique measurement, spatial boundaries contrive to extract Angkor Wat from the temporal boundaries of the *kali yuga*. The temple thus becomes a shrine set in the golden age of semi-divine perfection. Because of this setting, the entire dynamic scenario of the third gallery is ensconced in the context of a mythical and ideal age. Surrounded by this time period, the gallery still maintains its unique and individual character.

The interaction of divinity and royalty in the third gallery animates its 1,728 *hat* circumambulation path. Both historical and mythological scenes are suffused with complementary divine and mundane aspects. In accord with this fusion of real and mythological forces, the *kṛta yuga* is also complemented by historical time. In several different instances, this gallery and the north-south axis of the temple may record specific calendrical dates. These dates would bring the life of Suryavarman II directly into Angkor Wat. Time, in fact, seems to control so many measurements at Angkor Wat that it takes shape as a dominating concept. Sūryavarman apparently lived by a cosmological clock whose inner mechanisms regulated the structure of Angkor Wat. One of the most creative and brilliant manifestations of this "clock" is cleverly dissimulated in a graceful bas-relief in the northwest corner pavilion of the third gallery.

On the northern side of the eastern wing of this pavilion, a stately procession of gods ambles slowly toward the east.[20] Each god is mounted on an animal which is seen in profile and walks toward the observer's right (east).

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written measurements of 407.44 m. for the western wall and 405.33 m. for the eastern wall of the enclosure (southern half).

b. The distance between the center of the temple and the center of the northern corridor in the third gallery is 85.325 m. This is an average of 85.41 m. (western side) and 85.24 m. (eastern side) of the northern half of the gallery, as written on Pl. XI.

c. The distance between the center of the northern corridor and the first step of the northern porch of the third gallery is also 23.17 m. (The northern and southern entrances are essentially identical.)

The width of the moat (197.50 m.) and the distance between the moat and the fourth enclosure (38.50 m.) have to be added to the preceding figures. The total is 750.88 m. or 1,724.38 *hat*.

These gods are crossing the top of the north window in a journey toward Viṣṇu. Nārāyaṇa is reclining on Śeṣa just above the procession. The horizontal sequence beginning on the left (west), comprises:

1. Nirṛti on the shoulders of a *yakṣa*
2. Varuṇa riding on a swan
3. Skanda on a peacock
4. Kubera mounted on a horse
5. Indra on Airāvata
6. Yama riding a bull
7. Agni on a rhinoceros
8. Ketu on a lion

The sun and the moon form a part of this procession, but occur vertically just below Nirṛti. That is to say, Sūrya is on the lower left corner of the window and Candra is just above him. Both divinities face forward, toward the observer. Above Candra, Nirṛti and Varuṇa form the end of the horizontal sequence of divinities.

One notes that the positions of Sūrya and Candra at the beginning of the relief and Ketu at the end are characteristic of a typical *navagraha* sequence. Furthermore, the eastward movement of the procession is in full accord with the eastward movement of the planets. The sun and the planets gradually proceed eastward each day. They actually move slowly retrograde in relation to their rapid rising and setting in a 24 hour period. Among the gods in this relief that normally appear in the Khmer representations of nine divinities are Kubera, Indra, Varuṇa and Agni. Skanda also occurs in this relief, as a probable representation of Mars. In short, this bas-relief may be an original and mobile expression of a sequence of the five visible planets, similar to a *navagraha* sequence in India. Only some of the deities are different.

Another indication that this relief refers to the planets is the position of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu has been placed above the procession and not in front of it. While this is visually illogical because the deities are heading toward Viṣṇu, it retains an astronomical realism. If one were to search for Viṣṇu in the night sky, he could be found lying north of the ecliptic. His star is Altair in the *nakṣatra* Śrāvaṇa.[21] Altair is 29° north of the path of the planets.[22] In this

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[20] This procession of divinities is illustrated in Finot, *Angkor Vat*, pt. 3, I, pls. 325-328.

[21] The deities which preside over each *nakṣatra* are listed in Sankar Balakrishna Dikshit, *Bhāratīya Jyotish Śāstra, Part I, History of Astronomy during the*

two-dimensional relief, north would be above the eastward moving procession. Thus, Viṣṇu is correctly placed "above" or north of the ecliptic.

In spite of its affinities to a typical Khmer representation of the nine divinities, there are ten *devas* in this procession and Rāhu is missing. In other words, three of these gods cannot represent any celestial body. One of these three is of course, Ketu. In all likelihood, the deity mounted on a *yakṣa* at the end of the procession is another non-planetary god. This is an assumption based on the fact that the Khmer representations of nine deities do not include a *yakṣa* as a mount. However, Nirṛti, the *dikpālaka* of the southwest rides a *yakṣa*. Thus, this last position is given to Nirṛti as a symbol of the southwest.[23]

One remaining divinity is Yama, third personage from the head of the procession. Yama can be identified both by his moun t, a bull, and his fierce expression. Since Skanda already represents Mars, Yama probably symbolises the southern direction here. This would place the south in the third position in the line of deities.

In forty-one representations of the nine divinities compiled by Louis Malleret,[24] the following deities and their mounts almost inevitably occur in the same order :

1.	Sūrya	chariot
2.	Candra	chariot or pedestal

Vedic and Vedanga Periods (Delhi : Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, 1969):66. In order to determine which major star is representative of each *nakṣatra*, one may use the list of western equivalents by Keru L. Chartre in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, ed. James Burgess (Bombay : Education Society's Press, 1874):206. A combination of these two lists provides the deity and western notation for the main star in each *nakṣatra*.

[22] In July of 1131, Altair was 29.332 degrees north of the ecliptic. All the astronomical calculations in this paper were done by Prof. Antonio Guarnieri of the Geodesics School in the Universidad del Zulia, in Maracaibo, Venezuela. Without the cooperation of Prof. Guarnieri, a large part of this paper could not have been written.

[23] The importance of the *dikpālaka* in Khmer representations of the planets is discussed by Kamaleswar Bhattacharya in "Notes d'iconographie Khmère, XI, les navagraha et les 'neuf divinités,' " *Arts Asiatiques* 10_1(1964):91-94.

[24] Louis Malleret, "Contribution a l'étude du thème des neuf divinités dans

3.	Yama	bull
4.	Varuṇa	swan
5.	Indra	elephant
6.	Kubera	horse
7.	Agni	rhinoceros
8.	Rāhu	whirlwind
9.	Ketu	comet

There are a total of seven planets in the series of nine deities when Rāhu and Ketu are discounted. Moreover, these sequences always begin with the sun and moon. Coincidentally, there are also seven days in the week, beginning with the sun and the moon.[25] In the Khmer series, Indra is also in the fifth position. This Vedic god is the king of the *devas*. He is also the god of lightning and thunder. In the sequence of the days of the week, Thursday is in the fifth position. Thursday is represented by Zeus or Jupiter, the father or ruler of the Greek and Roman gods. Thor is a Germanic god of thunder, another symbol for Thursday. In these definitions, the character of Indra also relates him to the western gods of Thursday. In conclusion, the majority of sequences of nine divinities in Cambodian art may represent the days of the week.

When these nine deities (minus Rāhu and Ketu) are paired with the order of the days of the week, the following correlations result :[26]

1.	Sūrya	Sunday	sun
2.	Candra	Monday	moon
3.	Yama	Tuesday	Mars

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la sculpture du Cambodge et du Champa," *Arts Asiatiques* 7_3(1960):205-230. A few examples of the nine divinities do contain other deities such as Vāyu. However, any divergence stays within the identities of the eight *dikpālaka*.

[25] Chou Ta-kuan commented on the seven-day week in Cambodia in 1296 A.D., as found in Paul Pelliot, *Mémoires sur les Coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou Ta-Kouan* (Paris : Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1951):22. Also, F. G. Faraut notes that the Khmers number the days from 1-7, beginning with Sunday "D'après un très ancien usage....." (see F. G. Faraut, *Astronomie Cambodgienne* [Saigon: F. H. Schneider, 1910]:14). The Khmer days follow the same order as in the west.

[26] While the planet of each day of the week is constant, there are certain problems in the deities' identities. For example, Vāyu might also ride a horse. However, in a sense it does not matter whether deity 6 on a horse is identified

4.	Varuṇa	Wednesday	Mercury
5.	Indra	Thursday	Jupiter
6.	Kubera	Friday	Venus
7.	Agni	Saturday	Saturn

There were slight changes in a few of the sequences listed by Malleret, a divinity may have been added or taken away. However, in all the Khmer examples the identities suggested here are generally consistent. These examples of divinities are usually nine rigid figures in stasis. Unlike the relief at Angkor Wat, they do not visually represent a moving and thus alterable sequence. Assuming that the identification of each divinity is correct, an analysis of the Angkor Wat relief shows that Skanda on a peacock represents Mars. Nirṛti and Yama represent the southwest and south, respectively. When identified through the days of the week and their planetary deities, the sequence at Angkor Wat (beginning from the west) has these equivalents :

1.	Nirṛti	southwest
2.	Varuṇa	Mercury
3.	Skanda	Mars
4.	Kubera	Venus
5.	Indra	Jupiter
6.	Yama	south
7.	Agni	Saturn
8.	Ketu	comet

This sequence of divinities is determined by the movement of the procession. Nirṛti is the last deity on the left (west) and Ketu leads the procession on the right (east). Therefore, the first planet in the procession is Saturn, followed by all the other deities in a linear progression.

It would be ideal to have the procession heading westward across this northern window since that would more perfectly correspond to the westward sequence of the rising planets. However, the procession is moving eastward. As previously suggested, perhaps this depicts the slow easterly motion of the planets over a long period of time. Also, the gallery was probably circumambulated in a counter-clockwise direction. Therefore, the visitor would approach

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as Vāyu or Kubera. This is because the mount is the only distinctive factor associated with Friday. For Yama and Śiva, who both ride a bull, one must depend on attributes for a correct identification. Also, the bird-mount associated with Mercury may be a vāhana for either Varuṇa or Brahmā. Since the divinity on the mount is often holding a noose (pāśa), I have identified it with Varuṇa on a swan, instead of Brahmā as M. Malleret has suggested.

the procession from the east. In this manner, one would encounter each divinity in his proper sequence, from the first (Ketu) to the last (Nirṛti). Perhaps it was also not appropriate for the procession to head westward, away from the central sanctuary and Viṣṇu.

During the end of July in 1131 A.D., the planets followed the Angkor Wat sequence along the ecliptic[27] (Table 2). On July 27th, the sun set at Angkor at 6:22 p.m. Saturn and Jupiter were already in the night sky: Saturn was 62° from the western horizon and Jupiter was 7° above the eastern horizon. Thus, Saturn began the planetary sequence with Jupiter a distant second. At 11:42 p.m., Saturn set in the west, followed several hours later by Jupiter at 5:07 a.m. Before Jupiter set, Venus, Mars and Mercury rose in close succession in the east (at 3:47, 4:18 and 4:25 a.m.). Therefore, the passage of Saturn and Jupiter was followed in the small hours of the morning by the rising of Venus, Mars and Mercury. This sequence agrees with the line-up of planets behind Agni in the bas-relief. One hour and 22 minutes after Mercury rose in the east, the sun ascended over the horizon to begin a new day.

At sunset, Mercury would have been about 17° below the western horizon. Because of this fact, the reason for placing Nirṛti behind Mercury becomes apparent. Nirṛti gives the position of Mercury at the moment the procession "began" at sunset. This is, Mercury is in the west and below or "south" of the horizon. In fact, Mercury would also be south of the celestial equator. Similarly, Yama gives the position of Saturn at sunset. Saturn is also south of the celestial equator and in the western half of the sky. Since south *and* west are already represented by Nirṛti for the position of Mercury, Yama or south was a logical choice for Saturn. If the position of the two directional deities in the sequence could be transposed and fixed in the night sky, then Nirṛti would be just above Mercury and the western horizon while Yama would be just behind Saturn. Because the first and last planets in the precession are so specifically placed in relation to the horizon (Mercury) and the celestial equator (Mercury and Saturn), the date implied by the relief is even more exact. This precise configuration only occurred between July 24th and 29th, 1131 A.D. and at no other date between 1031 and 1231 A.D.

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[27] The sequence of planets along the ecliptic at this time is in Bryant Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar and Solar Positions: A.D. 2 to A.D. 1649* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1964).583. In these tables, the planets are arranged in increasing degrees of longitude. That is to say, Venus with a longitude of 102.10 would rise in the east before the sun, with a longitude of 136.50. Also, the position of the planets along the ecliptic may not reflect their position in relation to the horizons, except on or near the equinox days. At

Once the date of 1131 is extrapolated from the position and identity of each divinity, the question arises as to why this particular year was recorded at all. There were no known battles or conquests in 1131. Angkor Wat was probably not finished at that early a period, so it is not related to the completion of the temple. However, one need not look to historical sources for an answer to the meaning of the date. The bas-relief itself explains why 1131 should have been singled out as an important year.

The procession of divinities is on its way to ask Viṣṇu to incarnate. Viṣṇu is going to be born on earth. In fact, there is a plausible explanation for his incarnation in relation to the temple of Angkor Wat. Quite simply, the main or "royal" image of Viṣṇu could have been consecrated in the central sanctuary in late July of 1131. When the consecration was completed, Viṣṇu was born in the chamber provided for him at Angkor Wat.

Once Viṣṇu was born at Angkor Wat, the king and temple were joined directly to the god. We know very little about this ritual, in fact, the consecration ceremony itself would have had no reason to be inscribed in any stele. Even with a limited knowledge of the ritual, one would suspect that its date had to be chosen very carefully. In support of this view, the measurements of Angkor Wat indicate that the consecration ceremony had to occur in 1131. The importance of this year begins to emerge in the dimensions of the north-south axis of the temple.

The distance between the center of the temple and the northern, inner border of the moat is 1038 *hat*[28] (Fig. 2). The corresponding distance to the southern, inner border of the moat is 1021 *hat*.[29] Since about 40 meters of each of these distances was determined from a general plan of Angkor Wat, it is possible that the actual figures may vary by a few *hat* in either direction.

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other times, the ecliptic can form an angle of up to 23½° with the celestial equator. The angle of the ecliptic changes the positions of the planets in relation to the horizons.

[28] The distance between the center of the temple and the center of the fourth enclosure on the north is 408.675 m. (see n. 18 above). From the center of the northern wall of the fourth enclosure to the edge of the moat is 43.50 m. (see n. 17 above). According to Pl. II, this latter distance could not be less than 40 meters or more than 45. The total is 452.175 m. or 1038.41 *hat*.

[29] The distance between the center of the temple and the center of the fourth enclosure on the south is 406.385 m. (see n. 19 above). There are 38.50 m. between the center of the southern wall of the fourth enclosure and the edge

However, let us assume, for the sake of argument, that 1021 *hat* and 1038 *hat* were the intended lengths in each case. Reasons for such an assumption are ultimately based on philosophical considerations as well as probability.

The number 1038 is very close to the year of Sūryavarman's accession in 1035 Śaka. We know that work on Angkor Wat was begun soon after he came to power. Therefore, this number may refer to the date of the "birth" of the temple. Consequently, the number 1021 may refer to the date of the birth of the king himself. One immediately recognizes that if 1021 is the birthdate of the king, then he was only 14 or possibly 15 when he assumed the throne. One inscription refers to his youth in 1113 A.D. in these terms: "While still very young, at the end of his studies, he felt the desire of the royal dignity of his family while it was under the dependence of two masters, like the nectar in Rāhu."[30]

This inscription indicates that the age of the king was significant enough to merit comment in the story of his rise to power.

If the birthdates of the king and the temple are indeed recorded in the north-south axis, they would agree with the north-south dichotomy of divinity and royalty in the third gallery. That is to say, the birthdate of the king is on the south while that of the temple (home of the gods) is on the north. Furthermore, the two *kṛta yuga* lengths generated by the third gallery overlap these distances on the north-south axis of the temple. In this way, the birth of the temple, the birth of the king and the birth of the *kṛta yuga* would be spatially concomitant and simultaneous along this axis.

There is yet another piece of evidence that sustains a date of 1021 Ś. for the birth of the king. As previously stated, one inscription indicates that the king celebrated some special rite in 1119, six years after he came to power. If the king had been born in 1021 Ś., he completed 20 years of life during the year of this special oblation. In this year, he would have begun his 21st solar unit of existence. During 1119 A.D. therefore, his lifespan assumed a number that united him with the 21 *devas*. That moment in time would only occur once—and perhaps it merited commemoration in the scene of the Churning of the Sea of Milk.

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of the moat (see n. 17 above). Again, this latter distance would not be less than 36 m. or more than 41 m., according to Pl. II. The total is 444.885 m. or 1021.67 *hat*.

[30] Louis Finot, "Notes d'épigraphie, XIII, L'inscription de Ban That," *BEFEO* 12_2(1912):27, st. 32, translated from the French by the author.

If Sūryavarman had been born in 1021 Ś. or 1099 A.D., then he completed 32 years of life and began his 33rd year in 1131 A.D. The numbers 32 and 33 are not just casual references to the deities on Mt. Meru. The transition between the two numbers signifies a change from a multiple, manifest divinity to one godhead which embraces all matter in an incomprehensible unity. There was only one other moment in the king's young life which was as numerically potent and that was in 1119 when he began his 21st year. Because of the significance of 21 and 33, it is certainly possible that the ceremony in 1119 and the consecration in 1131 took place on the king's birthday. At least, any other day in the year would not have been as appropriate as the very day, and perhaps hour, when the life of the king changed its numerical meaning. During the consecration ceremony then, perhaps some aspect of Viṣṇu was considered to be born within the king as well as within the image. In that way, both the Khmer ruler and the stone statue would have experienced a significant change at the same moment in time. Both would have ceremonially partaken of the essence of the universe, an omniscient, omnipresent Deity. Thus, the meaning of the consecration date in late July of 1131 would be unique. For that reason, the ceremony had to be fixed for one particular time and none other.

The possibility that the king's age determined the date of the consecration of the main image of Viṣṇu at Angkor Wat is reinforced by the exterior axes of the third gallery. When the axes are measured to the western threshold of the western antechamber of the gallery, they equal 1041 *hat*[31] (Fig. 4). This number,

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[31] The axial length of the third gallery is based solely on written measurements. However, the intended length of the main eastern staircase has to be estimated from the other staircases on this level, since the eastern staircase was never completed. Nafilyan omits the staircase from his plans.

All the staircases on this level have 11 steps (except one, which is missing a step). The length of these staircases ranges between 4.69 and 5.04 m. Included in this length is the 1.00-1.40 m. distance between the top of the stairs and the upper porch of each entrance. The length of the missing staircase was estimated at 4.89 m. This was done by first adding the written lengths of each staircase and then dividing the total by 14 (the number of staircases involved). That produced an average of 4.91 m. The average between 4.69 and 5.04 m. is 4.87 m. Therefore, it was decided to use 4.89 m. as the approximate length of the missing eastern staircase.

The length of 1041 *hat* was derived in the following manner :

a. The axes of the gallery total 369.84 m. to the center of each corridor,

if read as a Śaka date and transposed to the Christian era, becomes 1119 A.D. When the axes are measured out to the last step of the western porch, they equal 1056 *hat*[32] or the product of 32 and 33. When interpreted as "thresholds" in the life of the king, the two alternate lengths of the axes are joined in meaning.

In summary, the life of Sūryavarman II appears to be closely related to the dimensions of the axes of the third gallery, the north-south axis of the temple and the *navagraha* bas-relief. The numbers 21 and 33 join the *devas* and cosmology to the preceding dimensions through the age of the king. Appropriately, Sūryavarman's age is related to the gallery that pictures his history. Furthermore, the third gallery generates the *kṛta yuga* lengths that share the north-south axis with the birthdates of Sūryavarman and Angkor Wat. Because of these interrelationships, the king, the gods and Angkor Wat are brought together by the north-south axis of the temple and the third gallery.

In the delicate world of numbers and measurement, the slightest error can change a theory or a date. In this case, sources such as the 1119 inscription and the 1131 bas-relief contain dates that are fixed. Other sources, such as the dimensions of the north-south axis and the axes of the third gallery, are open to errors of measurement. Probability argues that these varied sources could not accidentally come together to create a philosophically coherent picture. Hopefully, the future will allow opportunities to specifically remeasure certain distances at Angkor Wat. Until then, one can only note that available measurements suggest that certain dates were built into the temple.

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according to the written figures on Pl. XI.

b. The distance between the center of the corridors on the north and south and their respective entrance steps (bottom step) is 23.17 m. (see n. 18 and 19, section c.).

c. The distance between the center of the western corridor and the doorway to the western antechamber (threshold included) is 15.03 m.

d. The distance between the center of the eastern corridor and the edge of the entrance porch is 17.27 m. Another 4.89 m. is estimated for the eastern staircase, giving a total of 22.16 m.

The above lengths of 369.84, 23.17, 23.17, 15.03 and 22.16 m. equals 453.37 m. or 1041.15 *hat*.

[32]The porch of the western entrance to the third gallery measures 6.49 m., according to Pl. XXVIII; Passages Couverts Ier Étage; Plan d'Ensemble; Échelle 1/100. When added to the total of 453.37 m. for the previous axial length (see n. 31 above) the result is 459.86 m. or 1056.06 *hat*. It is worth noting that

Events such as the consecration of the Viṣṇu image epitomize divine and royal interaction in a succinct and purposeful ritual. The consecration ritual can also be understood in terms of space, as well as in terms of time. In order to reach the site of this ritual, one must begin again at the western entrance bridge to the temple. The space allotted the central sanctuary is attained through three different routes to the upper elevation. Each route extends over a length of 32 units from the western entrance bridge.

The span of the entrance bridge of Angkor Wat terminates in cloverleaf extensions on the west and east. At its center, a perpendicular projection provides staircases down to the water on the north and south. Actually, the bridge is really a solid construction of sand topped by gravel and laterite blocks. When combined with the solid, earthen "bridge" on the east, it separates the moat into two distinct channels of water.

In this case, the measurements of the bridge are based on the solid walls of its structure. Numerically significant distances between the central projection and the cross arms of the bridge do not include the balustrade. In other words, this latter decoration reaches beyond the basic structure of the bridge. When it is excluded, the distance between the central projection and the western cross arm of the bridge is 216 *hat*.[33] There are also 216 *hat* in the identical eastern half of the span.

In spite of the interruption at its center, the *kali yuga* is represented in the total length of the span. This *kali yuga* begins a numerical sequence of 32 units when the span of the bridge is counted as 4 units of 108 *hat* each.

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if for some reason the eastern staircase had been planned to be much shorter than average, at approximately 3.6 m. or slightly more; the axial lengths would change significantly. The length to the doorway of the western chamber would be 1021 *hat*, the length to the doorway of the antechamber would be 1038 *hat* and the length to the bottom step of the porch would be 1053 *hat* (1053 S. is 1131 A.D.). A survey of the area of the missing staircase would help to define its intended measurements and clarify why it was never constructed. Until then, one must rely on an average length.

[33] The dimensions of the bridge were obtained from Pl. LXXXIV. The cross-section on the top of the plan shows that the solid, vertical walls of the bridge are about .25 m. inside the base of the balustrade. This equivalent to 1 mm. on the plan and .57 *hat*. This slight indentation creates a difference of 1.14 *hat* for each side of the span. When excluded from the final measurements, the indentation leaves a span of 37.63 cm. on the plan or 94.075 m. on the ground. This translates as 216.03 *hat* for each half of the bridge.

In this instance, the unit of 108 *hat* is used on a route which leads from the bridge to the southern entrance of the temple. On the north, a corresponding route heads toward the northern entrance in the fourth enclosure. Since both routes are essentially identical, only the southern trajectory will be traced here. Other examples of lengths of 108 *hat* will follow.

The distance between the south, central portico of the western entrance and the southwest corner of the fourth enclosure equals 8 units of 108 *hat* each[34] (Fig. 5). Once at the corner of the wall, one must turn east and walk straight ahead for 12 more units.[35] At the end of this distance, a traveller is standing on the threshold of the southern entrance to the temple.

After crossing the southern threshold to the temple, a third stage in the peregrination leads due north for 8 more units.[36] The end of this 8 unit

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[34] The exact distance between the center of the south, central portico and the southwest corner of the enclosing wall is 375.50 m. or 862.33 *hat*, obtained from written measurements. The corresponding distance between the center of the north, central portico and the northwest corner of the enclosing wall is 376.60 m. or 864.85 *hat*, also obtained from written measurements. These distances are equivalent to 7.99 units of 108 *hat* on the south and 8.01 units on the north. The *dvāpara yuga* may also be represented in the *hat* lengths.

[35] There are 555.74 m. or 1,276.24 *hat* between the southwest corner of the fourth enclosure and the stairs to the southern entrance of the same enclosure. The distance between the first step to that entrance and the doorway to the entrance chamber is 8.69 m. or 19.96 *hat*. Therefore, there are 1,296.20 *hat* between the southwest corner of the fourth enclosure and the threshold to the southern entrance in the same enclosure. The corresponding northern distance is 554.59 m. or 1,273.60 *hat* and 8.69 m. or 19.96 *hat* for a total of 1,293.56 *hat*. All measurements were obtained from written figures. These *hat* distances are equivalent to 12.002 units of 108 *hat* on the south and 11.98 units on the north. They may also be equivalent to the *tretā yuga*.

[36] There are a total of 374.63 m. or 860.31 *hat* between the southern threshold of the southern entrance in the fourth enclosure and the first step of the southern staircase to the upper elevation. This is equivalent to 7.97 units of 108 *hat* each. In making calculations for this distance, 8.08 m. were estimated from Pl. XIV; Massif Central; Plan du IIIe Étage; Échelle 1/100 as the length of the southern staircase to the first gallery.

The corresponding northern distance is 377.45 m. or 866.81 *hat*. This is equivalent to 8.02 units of 108 *hat* each. Again, the length of the northern

journey is bracketed far to the north by the staircase of the upper elevation. In other words, the 32 unit distance ends as the upper elevation begins (Fig. 5).

The span over the bridge was equivalent to 4 units. The distance to the corner of the fourth enclosure was 8 units. Between the corner of the fourth enclosure and the entrance on the south were 12 units. Finally, the distance to the upper elevation is 8 more units, for a total of 32. The same measurements are repeated on the north.

The visitor also completes a 32 unit journey on the west. The *kṛta yuga* of 1,728 *hat* to the western porch of the second gallery can be complemented by the *kṛta yuga* circumambulation of the bas-reliefs. When combined, these two lengths equal 32 units of 108 *hat* each (Figs. 2 and 3).

In summary, the northern and southern approaches to the upper elevation end after a 32 unit journey to the staircases of that level. The western trajectory ends at the porch of the second gallery, 34 *hat* in front of the upper elevation. While these 34 *hat* may be a simple hiatus in the journey, they could also symbolize a 33rd unit or separate "section" in the western axis. If so, the royal or western approach to the top level of Angkor Wat is slightly different in meaning from the northern and southern routes. From the point of view of the western approach, the upper level could assume the character of a 34th unit. Certain measurements in this gallery confirm that suggestion. The circumambulation path closely approximates a 34 unit length,[37] as does the central tower. However, other measurements in this gallery suggest that it does function as a 33rd and final unit on the north and south.

There are 33 steps in the staircases of the northern entrance to this elevation.[38] There are also 33 steps in the staircases to the southern entrance. The 32 unit journey on the north and south ends with a climb up these 33 steps.

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staircase was estimated from Pl. XIV as 8.05 m. When the northern and southern distances are added together, they give 1,727.12 *hat*, almost a perfect *kṛta yuga* length.

[37] The circumference of the first gallery is 191.09 m., according to the written figures on Pl. XI. There are 7.07 m. between the western and eastern thresholds of the western entrance chamber to the gallery. These two lengths total 198.16 m. or 455.07 *hat*. When the *hat* total is divided by 13.43, the result is 33.89 units. The unit of 13.43 *hat* is a numerical key to the first and second galleries.

[38] Counting steps has its ups and downs. At Angkor Wat, one does not count the top step onto the flat surface of a porch or terrace.

If the visitor were to look up at the gallery before climbing the stairs, he or she would see the solid structure of the inner corridor ending at its door pilasters---exactly 33 *phyeam* units apart.[39] (The *phyeam* is a standard length equivalent to four *hat*.[40]) That is to say, each side of the gallery is exactly 33 *phyeam* long.

When the total length of the central tower is measured from the top of its capstone to the sacred deposit 23 meters below the sanctuary, its full vertical extension is 33 *phyeam*[41]. However, if one were to include its original *triśūla* or finial (estimated here at 4 *hat* high), then the entire tower/shaft complex would measure close to 34 *phyeam* (Fig. 6).

There are a total of 32 chambers in the gallery of this elevation. They include four axial chambers, four corner chambers and 24 smaller chambers (Fig. 8). When the central tower is counted as the final and ultimate "chamber" the total is 33.

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[39] The average length of each side of the first gallery is 47.77 m. to the centre of the corner chambers. The sides of this gallery vary between 47.75 and 47.79 m. (Pl. XI). There are 5.075 m. between the center of each corner chamber and the door pilasters. This adds 10.15 m. to the corridor for a total of 57.920 m., 133.01 *hat* or 33.25 *phyeam*.

Jean Filliozat discussed the number 33 in relation to the Bakheng in "Le symbolisme du monument du Phnoṃ Bakhèṅg," *BEFEO* 44_2(1954):527-553. Only 33 towers can be seen on each side of the Bǎkhèṅg when the monument is viewed from an axial position. Jean Filliozat bases his numerological analysis on the number of towers and terraces at the Bǎkhèṅg. His explanations have greatly helped the author to understand Angkor Wat in similar terms, such as in the concept of a 33rd unit.

[40] There are 2 *cham am* in 1 *hat*, 4 *hat* in 1 *phyeam* and 20 *phyeam* in 1 *sen*. The Khmer measurement system is in *World Weights and Measures*, Statistical Papers, ser. M, 21, Rev. 1 (New York: Dep't. of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office of the United Nations, 1966):37.

[41] The total height of the central tower can be obtained through a combination of the measurements of its three vertical sections. First of all, the distance between the sacred deposit and the floor of the sanctuary is given by the drawings in Trouvé, "Chronique," p. 486 ff. There are 23.00 m. between the floor of the sanctuary and the upper stone block of the deposit. This block was .33 m. thick and covered a hole extending for .12 m. into the bottom block of stone. The sacred deposit of a few gold leaves and two white sapphires was

The central elevation then, can be understood as the 33rd member in a 32 unit sequence on the north and south. Likewise, the central tower is the 33rd unit in the sequence of 32 chambers that sorround it. In both cases, this last unit comprises a radically different format.

The transition from an abstract, arithmetical rendition of the number 32 to the three-dimensional, architectural sculpting of the upper elevation is quite a suggestive change. The upper elevation is not a pale 108 *hat* length. It is the home of all the gods. It is a 33rd unit which embraces all the meaning inherent in the 32 unit sequence preceding it. Similarly, central tower also imitates the soaring peak of the cosmic mountain. As a final symbol of Mt. Meru, it naturally includes the 32 *devas* represented in the 32 surrounding chambers. However, it is also the ultimate enclosure of divinity at Angkor Wat. As the home of Viṣṇu, it houses a concept of Nārāyaṇa as both the source and the essence of the universe.

This concept of Viṣṇu has been analyzed by K. Bhattacharya in these terms: ".....In the *Bhagavadgītā*: 'All the beings, o son of Kuntī,' said the Blessed One, 're-enter into my *prakṛti* at the end of the *kalpa*; at the beginning of the *kalpa*, I project them again.'

.....in the *Gītā*, the (*prakṛti*) resides in God Himself. It emanates from Him at creation and is reabsorbed into Him at the dissolution (of the universe). In other words, the material cause of the universe is not distinct from its effi-

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at the bottom of that hole. Therefore, the full distance between the floor of the sanctuary and the sacred deposit is 23.00, .33 and .12 m. for a total of 23.45 m. or 53.85 *hat*.

Measurements for the height of the sanctuary and tower were derived from Pl. XXIV, Sanctuaire Central; IIIe Étage; Coupe Axiale Ouest-Est Suivant le Grand Axe du Temple; Échelle 1/50. The distance between the floor of the sanctuary and the indentation which separates the squared shape of the sanctuary from the round tower above it is 23.95 cm. on the plan. This is equivalent to 11.975 m. or 27.50 *hat*. There are 43.82 cm. on the plan or 21.91 m. between the top of the sanctuary and the bottom of the cavity in the capstone of the tower. This distance is equivalent to 50.32 *hat*. The cavity itself is .88 cm. on the plan or .44 m. Thus, it is equivalent to one *hat*. The full length of the tower then, equals 53.85, 27.50, 50.32 and 1 *hat* for a total of 132.67 *hat* in all. When converted into *phyeam*, this total is 33.17. If either a four or five *hat* finial had once stood in the capstone, the full height of the tower would be very close to 34 *phyeam*.

third gallery[46] (Fig. 7, C). Since the third gallery generates three different *kṛta yuga* lengths, the *tretā yuga* ends where the *kṛta yuga* begins.

The *dvāpara yuga* begins at the first step of the porch to the west entrance of the fourth enclosure and ends at the balustrade wall that circles the central three galleries[47] (Fig. 7, B). It therefore only includes the western entrance and the long causeway.

The visitor to Angkor Wat successively leaves each *yuga* length behind while approaching the central sanctuary from the west. First the *kali yuga* is left behind at the bridge, then the *dvāpara yuga* recedes as one crosses the balustrade wall. Finally, the *tretā yuga* ends as the first step into the third gallery is taken. At that point, only the *kṛta yuga* is left to be crossed. When returning along the western axis, the visitor would re-enter each *yuga* period in reverse, until the *kali yuga* was finally crossed at the bridge.

From the north, south and west, time becomes better and better as one approaches the central elevation. (And conversely, time gets worse as one approaches the western exit of the temple.) However, the last step out of the *kṛta yuga* brings the visitor beyond the *yuga* cycles to Mt. Meru. Mt. Meru then, is excluded from the *yuga* periods. Since the *yugas* mark the longest sections of terrestrial time, this exclusion is a way of saying that the cosmic mountain is not bound by a terrestrial calendar. While this concept is quite logical, it does not elaborate the possibilities of a wholly unique celestial calendar. Before the temporal world of the *devas* can be properly understood, however, one must examine the more mundane time periods that occur in the temple. As a means of ensuring the accuracy of the terrestrial calendar, the astronomers apparently used Angkor Wat itself as a kind of observatory.

Five out of six projections along the west-east axis of Angkor Wat can be

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[46] The distance between the middle of the bridge and the doorway to the antechamber of the western entrance in the third gallery is 562.61 m. or 1,292.02 *hat*. This measurement is based on written numbers, except for the distance between the middle of the bridge and the staircase to the western entrance, estimated at 46.05 cm. on Pl. LXXIV, or 115.125 m. on the ground.

[47] The distance between the first step of the porch to the main western entrance of the temple and the balustrade wall at the end of the causeway is 376.665 m. or 865.00 *hat*. If the same distance were measured from the first step onto the western approach to the fourth enclosure, it would be closer to 871.77 *hat*. Because the former distance is closer to the numbers of a *dvāpara yuga*, it is assumed to have been the intended length.

used for lunar and solar observation.[48] As the visitor stands at the center of each projection, specific towers of the temple are aligned with the path of the moon across the ecliptic. Furthermore, if one were to stand at the northern end of the first projection on the day of the spring equinox, the sun would rise directly over the top of the central tower. Three days later, the sun will also rise directly over the central tower when viewed from the center of that projection.[49] In this way, the beginning of the solar year was once very carefully calibrated.

Another example of the Khmer astronomers' accurate observation of the night sky is found in the central sanctuary. The west-east length between the thresholds of the central sanctuary is 13.50 *hat*.[50] This number approximates the length of one *nakṣatra* (800′ or 13°29′ in the series of 27 constellations). It is also the smallest and most practical common denominator of the *yuga* periods and some of their major divisors, such as 108, 54 and 27.

In agreement with the general pattern of the temple, the west-east axis is longer than its perpendicular counterpart. The north-south axis of the sanctuary (between the thresholds) is 13.43 *hat*.[51] When this number is transformed into degrees by multiplying the fraction by 60, one obtains 13°25′48″. (That is to say, 60×.43=25.′8=25′48″.) This latitude of the west-east axis of Angkor Wat is between 13°24′ and 13°25′, at about 13°24′26″.[52] Therefore, the north-south axis of the central sanctuary records the latitude of Angkor Wat to within an amazing accuracy of 60-90 seconds of arc. The astronomers may also have chosen the north-south axis since latitude is the position of a terrestrial point on a north-south meridian.

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[48] Stencel, Gifford and Morón, "Astronomy and Cosmology at Angkor Wat," pp. 281-287. Alignments were measured to the tops of towers. There are a total of 22 solar and lunar alignments at Angkor Wat, some extending beyond the temple compound for several kilometers.

[49] Ibid., p. 281.

[50] The measurements for the central sanctuary were obtained from Trouvé, "Chronique," p. 486 ff. According to his written figures the west-east axis measures 5.91 m. between thresholds or 13.50 *hat*.

[51] Ibid., p. 486 ff. The north-south axis is 5.85 m. between thresholds or 13.43 *hat*.

[52] The latitude of the west-east axis of Angkor Wat was determined from the "Carte archéologique de la région d'Angkor," Échelle 1/40,000, dated March, 1939. This map is annexed to the article by Pierre Paris, "L'importance

cient cause : God is at once the one and the other."[42]

Bhattacharya goes on to state that the *Gītā* distinguishes *para-prakṛti* or undifferentiated matter from *apara-prakṛti*, or the manifest universe. While these two aspects of divinity may have several different names, they are both united in *Viṣṇu* : "In effect, the *prakṛti* deployed in the creation of the universe is an integral part of God, the efficient and material cause of the universe. As a consequence, the universe is identical to God."[43]

Both the central tower and the upper elevation, as unit number 33, symbolize that aspect of divinity which is undifferentiated and yet manifest. This symbolism is closer to the concept of an omnipresent deity than any other numerical set along the 32 unit journeys. In a sense, the last and final 33rd unit brings the number 32 to its source and all travellers at Angkor Wat to their ultimate destination.

By means of the 33rd unit, the space allotted for the consecration ceremony represents the universe as a whole, embodied in Viṣṇu. At the same time, it represents a universe in which divinity is not defined or confined by three dimensions.

Just as space seems to change its meaning at the end of the 32 unit journeys, time also changes. During the long walk to the upper elevation, visitors not only cover a 32 unit length, they also cross through a sequence of four *yuga* periods. From the moment the ascent up the central elevation begins, this sequence stops. It does not resume again until the central elevation is left behind. In this sequence, all four *yuga* periods follow each other in a chronological opening and closing of time.

When the northern and southern routes to the upper elevation are considered in *hat* units, the visitor first crosses the *kali yuga* of the bridge (Fig. 5, A). Next, one walks through the 864 *hat dvāpara yuga* along the fourth enclosure[44] (Fig. 5, B). Finally, the 1,296 *hat* up to the south (or north) entrance equals the *tretā yuga* (Fig. 5, C).

The entire north-south axial distance in this peregrination measures 1,728 *hat*. When entering from the south, the visitor has to walk 864 *hat* north to reach the upper elevation. After completing the necessary rituals at this level,

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[42] Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, "Les religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge," *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 49(1961):99 and 100, author's English translation.

[43] Ibid., p. 61, author's English translation.

[44] The basis for these *yuga* lengths is explained in notes 34, 35 and 36.

the visitor descends down the northern stairs and re-enters the flow and the count of time. After walking 864 *hat* north from those stairs, one leaves via the north *gopura* in the fourth enclosure. This 864 *hat* distance, in combination with the same length on the south, is equivalent to one *kṛta yuga* (Fig. 5, D).

After leaving the temple from the north, the visitor retraces the *yuga* periods in reverse. One returns through the *tretā yuga*, *dvāpara yuga* and finally, the *kali yuga* of the bridge (Fig. 5). In this manner, there is an orderly and logical regression to one's own time period outside the temple. Thus, in a larger context, this journey to and from the upper elevation is a voyage through the four *yuga* cycles and back again.

A visitor entering Angkor Wat from the west would also cross through each *yuga* while walking along the west-east axis. In this case, the four *yugas* end at the terminus of the 32 unit journey, just outside the main eastern threshold of the western entrance to the second gallery.[45] This western limit also ends the *kṛta yuga* distance that began with the first step of the bridge.

Following the western sequence, the *tretā yuga* begins at the center of the entrance bridge and ends at the first doorway into the west entrance of the

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[45] The previous *yuga* sequence suggested by the author ("Astronomy and cosmology," p. 285) ended the *tretā yuga* at the central tower. New written figures place the beginning of the *tretā* and *dvāpara yugas* in that sequence at the start of the second staircase to the main western entrance of the temple. This point of initiation eliminates the 2.65 m. length of the first stairway and brings the total for each yuga to 865.00 and 1,297.04 *hat* (376.665 and 564.795 m. respectively). However, this *tretā yuga* distance does not coincide with a progression of time. It goes beyond the limits of the *kṛta yuga* that ends in front of the upper elevation. Therefore, this apparent *tretā yuga* may be, in reality, a *dvāpara yuga* plus a 432 *hat* extension to the central tower. I do not propose to define this latter extension, since such a definition requires additional research into the numerical systems of the central three galleries. This 432 *hat* distance could be a *kali yuga*, although that would contradict the idea of the *kali yuga* dominating the interior space of Angkor Wat. It might be a *mahāyuga* symbol, a fitting introduction to the central tower. Or it might be 108 *phyeam* units (see n. 40 above), symbolizing the number of deities on both poles of Mt. Meru. In short, it is more logical to divide this *tretā yuga* distance into two major sections of 864 and 432 *hat* than to understand it as extending past the limits of the *kṛta yuga* on the west.

Another way of stating the meaning of this 13.43 unit measure is that it represents the height of the celestial north pole (or roughly, the pole star) above the northern horizon at Angkor Wat. As will be shown, this point is closely identified with Brahmā. Furthermore, the 13.43 *hat* length recurs several times at Angkor Wat as a unique unit of measure.

By means of its own measurements then, the north-south axis of the central sanctuary provides a real spatial coordinate for the temple. Similarly, the full vertical extent of the central tower defines certain celestial coordinates. In accord with its function as a Mt. Meru symbol, the central tower also places the cosmic mountain in its "geographical" context.

An analysis of the central tower shows that it is vertically divided into three separate sections (Fig. 6). A quadrangular shaft connects the site of the sacred deposit to the floor of the central sanctuary. The distance between those two points is 54 *hat*.[53] The sanctuary measures 27 *hat* between its floor and the square indentation which marks the point of departure of the round tower (Fig. 6). From that square indentation, the round tower slowly tapers upward. At the top of the tower, there is a hole one *hat* deep for the insertion of a *triśūla* or finial. The distance between the base of that one *hat* cavity and the ceiling of the sanctuary is 50 *hat*. Assuming an original length of 4 *hat* for the *triśūla*, the tower would then rise for a total of 54 *hat* above the ceiling (square indentation) of the sanctuary.

In the excerpt from the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* quoted earlier, Mt. Meru extends outward from the northern and southern poles of the earth. These poles are inhabited and animated by the *devas* and *asuras*. According to the number of divinities on the *nāga* bridges at Angkor Thom, there are probably 54 gods and titans at their respective poles. Thus, the number of deities at each pole corresponds to the measurements of the central tower and its subterranean shaft. This, in turn, would make the central sanctuary equivalent to the earth. Nothing could be more appropriate since Viṣṇu was summoned to be born on the earth in the context of the *navagraha* bas-relief. Furthermore, the number 27 will be related to the earth again on this elevation, in another context.

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rituelle du nord-est et ses applications en Indo-Chine," *BEFEO* 41$_2$(1941):303-333 and pl. XLIII. The latitude and longitude are marked on the map in the French system based on 100° for a right angle. Every .10° is noted.

The latitude of the west-east axis is somewhat south of 14.90°, estimated by the author at 14.897° or 13° 24′ 26″ in the system of 360° to a circle.

[53] The measurements of the three vertical sections of the central tower are fully explained in n. 41 above.

In a final analysis then, the vertical extension of the central tower gives the position of the *devas* and *asuras* in relation to the earth. The north-south axis of the sanctuary gives its own position in relation to the *devas* (13.43° above the northern horizon) and the earth (13.43° from the equator). In this manner, the vertical and horizontal coordinates of the central tower complement each other. The former present the north-south axis diagrammatically and the latter define the northern extremity of that axis as observed from Angkor Wat. In brief, the data in the central tower stipulates that the north pole is 13.43° above the horizon when seen from the west-east axis of Angkor Wat. Since the tower also implies that the earth is round (situated between the celestial north and south poles), the same 13.43° gives the latitude of Angkor Wat from the equator. In reality, the position of the north pole can be converted from geophysical coordinates into a component of celestial time. However, other aspects of the central elevation have to be introduced first.

Each corner tower on the top level of Angkor Wat measures 54 *hat* from the floor of its main chamber to the top of its capstone.[54] The distance between floor of the central chamber and the level of the sacred deposit is also 54 *hat*.[55] Therefore, the full vertical extension of each tower is 108 *hat*, and of all four towers together, 432 *hat*.

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[54] Guy Nafilyan states that all four corner towers are virtually identical (Introduction, *Angkor Vat*, entry XXVI). The height of the southwest corner tower is given in written measurements as 24.45 m. from a point approximately .835 m. below the level of the floor of the sanctuary. The difference of .835 m. was determined from Pl. XXVI; Tour d'Angle Sud-Ouest; IIIe Étage; Élévation Ouest; Échelle 1/50 in the following manner :

a. The floor of the sanctuary is 12.05 m. above the terrace according to the written figures on Pl. XII, Plan du Nivellement du Temple; Échelle 1/500.

b. There are 1.67 cm. or .835 m. between the point 12.05 m. above the terrace and the point (just below that) where the written measurements began.

When .835 m. is subtracted from 24.45 m. the result is 23.615 m. or 54.23 *hat*.

[55] The height above ground level for the floor of the main sanctuary in each corner tower is given in Pl. XII. These heights are :

southwest corner tower	21.62 m.
southeast corner tower	21.66 m.

It is relatively easy to envision the gods peacefully occupied at the north celestial pole. From that point in space, the universe appears to circumambulate around the observer in never-ending circles. This stellar circumambulation is suggested by the position of the four corner towers around the central tower. In complementary terms, the total vertical length of all four corner towers (432 *hat*) also symbolizes a complete *mahāyuga* period of 4,320,000 years. As a consequence, the four towers arranged around the central tower can symbolize both the real cycles of stars and planets around the north pole as well as the four *yuga* cycles. Because of their 432 *hat* total extension, they suggest that the latter cycles belong to a larger period of 4,320,000 years. In both instances, the central tower does not participate in these cycles of time. As the north celestial pole, Mt. Meru remains immobile while time forever flows around it in an eternal movement.

One thus finds that the central tower provides actual geophysical coordinates for the cosmic mountain. In a similar fashion, the corner towers provide temporal coordinates for the time cycles that circle Mt. Meru. There are also terrestrial time coordinates contained in other measurements of the upper elevation. Specifically, the exterior axes of the central tower and the central elevation provide solar data that is ultimately related to the time periods of the *devas* at the north pole.

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northeast corner tower	21.77 m.
northwest corner tower	21.86 m.

The depth of the sacred deposit from the floor of the central sanctuary was given as 23.45 m. exactly (see n. 41). In Pl. XII, the height of the floor of the central sanctuary above ground level is written as 21.94 m. However, Nafilyan defines ground level as the level of the western causeway. According to Trouvé, "Chronique," p. 486 ff, the causeway is 1.44 m. above ground level, which he places at 23.20 m. below the floor of the sanctuary. This means that the ground level employed by Guy Nafilyan is 1.69 m. above the sacred deposit. (There are .25 m. between the sacred deposit and Trouvé's ground level, 1.44 m. more to the level of the causeway for a total of 1.69 m. to the ground level of Nafilyan.) When 1.69 m. is added to each of the preceding figures in order to obtain the heights of the towers from the level of the sacred deposit, the following results accrue :

southwest corner tower	23.31 m. or 53.53 *hat*
southeast corner tower	23.35 m. or 53.62 *hat*
northeast corner tower	23.46 m. or 53.88 *hat*
northwest corner tower	23.55 m. or 54.08 *hat*

When the two exterior axes of the substructure of the upper elevation are measured from the bases (and down to the short walkway on the west), they total 365.60 *hat*[56] (Fig. 8). This number is close enough to the solar year (365.24 days) to introduce the sun as a possible component of the central elevation. The solar year is also diagrammed by the arrangement of 12 staircases leading up to the gallery. There are three staircases facing each cardinal direction. In this way, architecture depicts the 12 months of the year divided into four periods of three months each.

In a kind of numerical reinforcement, the length of the solar year is also partially contained in the exterior axes of the central tower. The average time between the solstice and equinox points in the year is 91.31 days. The exterior axes of the central tower measure 91.37 *hat*[57] between the bottom step of the short

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[56] Written measurements are not available for the full axial lengths of this elevation. However, there are written figures for the axes out to the porches on the north, south and west and out to the upper staircase on the east. These written lengths are 63.08 m. west-east and 59.95 m. north-south.

On the north and south, the length of the staircases measures 8.05 and 8.08 m., respectively. These lengths were measured from Pl. XIV and do not include the base. On the west, the distance between the porch and the causeway is 12.10 m. This measurement excludes the first step (.40 m. according to written figures) which is covered by the causeway. On the east, the lower stairway extends for 6.63 m. Thus, the west-east axis totals 12.10, 63.08 and 6.63 m. for 81.81 m. or 187.88 *hat* in all. The north-south axis totals 8.05, 59.95, and 8.08 m. for 76.08 m. or 174.72 *hat* in all. The full axial length to the first step in each staircase and to the causeway on the west is 362.60 *hat*.

According to copies of the plans published by Trouvé in 1935, the width of the base of the upper elevation is .44 m. These copies are in the possession of Guy Nafilyan, and this particular figure was not published. Assuming that the base is equal all around the structure, then a total of 3 *hat* has to be added to the 362.60 *hat* axial length above. There would be one extra *hat* for the base on the north, south and east, but none on the west where the walkway covers the first step and the base. The additional 3 *hat* bring the total to 365.60.

The written figures provide a more accurate length for the axes on this level. Therefore, the previous figure of 365.37 *hat* suggested by the author stands corrected ("Astronomy and Cosmology," pp. 284-286).

[57] The exterior axial lengths of the central tower were derived mainly from written measurements. These measurements are 18.095 m. west-east and 18.10 m. north-south. However, they exclude the four small "porches" on each

porches to the tower (Fig. 9). Thus, the central tower provides the average period of time in each of the four sections of a solar year.

If the axes of the upper elevation are measured to the bottom of each staircase (and to the west walkway) they total 362.60 *hat*[58] (Fig. 8), or the product of 13.43 and 27. In other words, the axes equal the height of the central sanctuary multiplied by its horizontal axis. When put in geophysical terms, the north-south axis is 27 units long and its northern tip is 13.43° above the horizon at Angkor Wat. This pairing of the two numbers reiterates their previous juxtaposition in the central sanctuary, thereby reinforcing the number 27 as the length of the north-south axis. In all, the upper elevation emphasizes the north-south axis, the solar year, the position of the north pole at Angkor Wat and the length of a *mahāyuga* (432 *hat*).

The preceding four numerical components of the upper elevation are all related to celestial time by means of the precession of the equinoxes. Cosmology teaches us that 1,200 years of the gods are equal to one *kali yuga*. However, no reference is ever made to the equalizer, the rate of precession.

Precession is the movement of the north-south diameter (axis) of the earth over thousands of years in time. It is comparable to a very slow, circular "wobble" in the spinning earth. According to cosmology, Indian and Khmer astronomers must have defined the precession rate as 50″ a year. One earth year, or solar year, has always been said to equal one day of the gods (and thus, also 50″ of precession). One year of the gods is composed of 360 days, or 5° of precession. This means that it would require 72 such years for each full cycle of precession. In terms of a terrestrial calendar, a complete cycle of precession would take 25,920 solar years before beginning again.[59]

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side of the tower. The lengths of these porches were derived from Pl. XXII, Sanctuaire Central; IIIe Étage; Plan; Échelle 1/50 and are :

west porch	2.00 cm. on the plan or 1.00 m.
east porch	1.68 cm. on the plan or .84 m.
north porch	1.88 cm. on the plan or .94 m.
south porch	1.62 cm. on the plan or .81 m.

These figures equal 1.00, 18.095 and .84 m. for 19.935 m. or 45.78 *hat* along the west-east axis. The north-south axis equals .94, 18.10 and .81 m. for a total of 19.85 m. or 45.59 *hat*. When combined, the axes equal 91.37 *hat*, the most accurate estimate to date.

[58] The length of 362.60 *hat* is explained in note 56 above.

[59] This figure is very close to the modern estimate of a precession cycle, or about 25,780 years.

Rather curiously, if the temporal duration of a cycle of precession is divided by its spatial configuration (the 360° in a circle), the result is also 72. Whetever its derivation, the unit of 72 divine years for each cycle of precession produces the following relationships :

Celestial Years	*Cycles of Precession*
432	6
864	12
1,296	18
1,728	24

Not only are these numbers related through celestial years and cycles of precession, they are also related through solar years and degrees of precession :

Solar Years	*Degrees of Precession*
432	6
864	12
1,296	18
1,728	24

Each *yuga* period can also be divided by 25,920 in order to obtain the number of precession cycles in the *yuga*. This division reveals that there are 16.66667 cycles in the *kali yuga*, 33.33333 in the *dvāpara yuga*, 50.0000 in the *tretā yuga* and 66.66667 in the *kṛta yuga*. The more decimal places in the length of the cycle, the more exact the result.

Once again, there are 72 celestial years in each cycle of precession. When the number of precession cycles for each *yuga* period is multiplied by 72, the result is 1,200 years for the *kali yuga*, 2,400 years for the *dvāpara yuga*, 3,600 years for the *tretā yuga* and 4,800 years for the *kṛta yuga*. Thus, the 50 precession cycles of the *tretā yuga* are equal to 1,296,000 years on earth. Since each cycle of precession also equals 72 divine years, there are 3,600 celestial years in the same period of time. Therefore, celestial and terrestrial time are related through the rate of precession.

At Angkor Wat, the *yuga* periods reach as far as the upper elevation, stopping short at the foot of the cosmic mountain. Thus, the upper elevation is not governed by terrestrial time. Essentially, divinity lives on a time scale which is numerically slowed down by the precession rate. What the *devas* perceive as a lapse of 72 years, the people on earth perceive as a lapse of 25,920 years. Therefore, the quality and nature of time on the cosmic mountain (or upper elevation of Angkor Wat) is different from the nature of the *yuga* periods on earth (or on the grounds of Angkor Wat). It is not that the

same amount of time is experienced as 72 celestial years or 25,920 terrestrial years. These amounts are *not* the same. Time is different in both cases.

The concept of a change in the nature of time on the upper elevation parallels the concept of a change in the nature of space. On this elevation, space became a unified whole which transcended the normal three-dimensional boundaries we perceive. Likewise, the *yuga* periods which encompass all earthly time progressions do not encompass the central elevation. One literally walks out of these periods when ascending the stairways to the topmost level of Angkor Wat.

The evidence for this change to celestial time is not only the negative exclusion of the central elevation from the *yuga* progressions. All the data on the upper elevation positively suggest the nature of celestial time. The position of the north pole as seen from Angkor Wat (13.43° above the northern horizon), the north-south axis of the earth as diagrammed in the central tower, the length of a solar year (the axes of the upper elevation) and the number 432 as represented in the four towers that circle the central sanctuary are all interconnected data. Because these facts occur in close association, they indicate that Khmer astronomers were aware of the importance of the position of the north pole in the determination of the precession rate and its relationship to the solar year and the *yuga* cycles. In other words, the Khmer architects meant to construct the upper elevation so as to illustrate the nature and essence of celestial time.

The upper elevation carefully defines the north pole. Another example of an image of the earth as seen from the north pole is found in what may have been the major *yantra* of the temple.

The edge of the moat which forms the outer boundary of Angkor Wat separates the sacred area of the temple from the ordinary world outside its precincts. This rectangle can be calculated at 1,504.92 m. west-east and 1,292.06 m. north-south.[60] The cubit length contained therein equals 3,456.00 *hat* and

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[60] The length of the west-east axis was determined by a combination of written measurements and scale plans. First of all, the width of the moat was measured at 197.50 m. from Pl. LXXXIV (see n. 6, section e). The distance between the moat and the steps to the fourth enclosure on the west was estimated at 16.375 m. from Pl. LXXXIV (6.55 cm. on the plan). The eastern distance between the moat and enclosure wall is 41.50 m. (see n. 6 above). The rest of the axis is derived from written measurements. There are 22.25 m. between the steps to the western entrance of the fourth enclosure and the center

2,967.18 *hat*, respectively. These *hat* lengths at first appear to have no more meaning than their metric counterparts. In essence, this is quite correct because the lengths of the outer rectangle of Angkor Wat only become significant when divided by 108. Transformed by this division, they equal 32.00 and 27.47 units of 108 *hat* each. Once again, the number 32 is obtained by means of a 108 *hat* unit.

The basic *vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala* of a Hindu temple commonly contains 32 divinities along its outer border. These 32 deities share the perimeter of the *maṇḍala* with the 28 *nakṣatra*, sometimes overlapping them in spatial concordance and identity.[61] Quite obviously, the number 27.47 is a little short of a perfect 28. Perhaps the fraction implies a numerical compromise between the alternate number of *nakṣatra* along the ecliptic (27 or 28). Or perhaps the reason for this slight discrepancy is that the architects also had to meet so many north-south measurement requirements within the temple compound. Other measurements may have altered the final length of the north-south axis of the temple (such as the two *kṛta yuga* distances or the proposed birthdates of 1021 and 1038). In spite of this minor imperfection, these extremely long measurements indicate the outlines of an extensive *vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala*. A kind of verification of this suggestion may occur in the 32 unit routes to the central elevation.

In the northern and southern routes to the upper elevation, the 4 unit span of the bridge was separated by the western entrance from the subsequent 28 unit distance to the staircases of the first gallery. The latter distance is continuous and uninterrupted from its inception at the western entrance through

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of the western entrance itself. The distance across the fourth enclosure is 1,029.18 m. on the north and 1,030.40 m. on the south, for an axial average of 1029.79 m. The measurements can then be added together to give 197.50, 16.375, 22.25, 1,029.79, 41.50 and 197.5 m. for a total of 1,504.915 m. or 3,456.00 *hat*. This equals 32.00 units of 108 *hat*. The 2,967.18 *hat* of the north-south axis (see n. 17 above) equal 27.47 units of 108 *hat*.

[61] The concept of the *vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala* is discussed in Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vols. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946), 1:29-39, 46-50 and 86-88. Although there are variations in the number of squares in the maṇḍala and the arrangement of the divinities, the 28 *nakṣatra* and 32 deities are always along the periphery. Brahmā is always in the center and the 12 *ādityas* are placed between Brahmā and the *nakṣatra*. [cf. Varāha Mihira, "The Bṛhat Saṃhitā," trans. Dr. H. Kern, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n. s. 6(1873):286-290.]

to the substructure of the central elevation. This division highlights the number 28 as separate from, but still contained within, the number 32. Furthermore, this division may also imply a subtle separation in the geometrical arrangement of 32 and 28 at Angkor Wat. The full 32 unit distance spans the moat. In contrast, the 28 unit section begins after the moat has been crossed. Because of this division, the number 32 does relate to the perimeter of the temple but the number 28 does not. Instead, the number 28 is spatially distributed between the inner border of the moat and the central elevation. In turn, the upper elevation lies beyond the numerical reach of this 28 unit distance. Since the solar year and its divisions are recorded in the upper elevation, the 12 staircases on that level could also symbolize the 12 *ādityas*. If so, then the upper elevation supplies this component of the *yantra*.

The final component of the *yantra* would be Brahmā, symbolized by the central tower and its emphasis on the north pole. A point worth noting is that the central tower has 44 columns around it.[62] Since it sustains all 44 as a 45th "column," it is a fitting symbol for the 45th deity in the *vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala*. The final numerology of this *yantra* would proceed from 32/28 at the periphery to 12 and 1 at the center, for a total of 45. The 28 *nakṣatra* are, of course, included within the 32 *devas*.

For Brahmā at the north celestial pole, the 28 *nakṣatra* circle the horizon. They would be at the very border of the round earth. This position corresponds to their peripheral position in the *yantra*. Next in sequence, the 12 solar *ādityas* are logically placed closer to Brahmā. Logically, because the sun actually does approach the north pole more closely than the *nakṣatra* on the celestial equator. In reality, the sun is $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north of the celestial equator at the summer solstice and the same amount south of the celestial equator at the winter solstice. From this point of view, the sun comes "closer" to Brahmā than the *nakṣatra*. Because of these facts, the *vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala* represents the celestial dome as seen from the north pole.

Because of the astronomical correspondences in the *vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala*, reality again provides a basis for cosmology. In this *yantra*, Brahmā is the center or "hub" of time. He is a 45th all-inclusive deity in a series of 45 (32+12 + 1). However, this *yantra* only provides a partial definition of the Creator. His relationship to the north pole is intimated by his central position while his

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[62] The number of columns around the central tower are drawn in Pl. XXII. Whenever two or three columns are joined at Angkor Wat, they are always counted individually.

numerological function is very generally suggested. The nature of Brahmā as a 45th deity, the center of a *yantra* and of time, and his unique relationship to the north pole is even more obvious in the second gallery. This middle gallery seems to be dedicated to a definition of Brahmā as the central component in a *yantra*. The numerical keys to the definitions within the gallery are based on units of 21, 49 and 13.43.

Each section of the second gallery has holes for door hinges. In all, 49 such sections could be individually closed as separate chambers. The third gallery has 28 chambers and the first gallery has 32. Therefore, the central three galleries of Angkor Wat present a sequence of 28, 49 and 32 chambers. This may imply that the central three galleries once had their own *vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala* of 49 squares. However, the number 49 can also be understood as only one part of the definition of Brahmā in the second gallery.

There are 21 steps in each staircase of the second gallery.[63] The only exception is the set of three staircases on the west which contains a total of 49 steps.[64] In this manner, 21 and 49 literally provide access to the physical structure of the gallery.

A visitor standing at the northern or southern entrances to this gallery would be looking up at a 21-unit distance.[65] The length of the corridors on these sides is equivalent to 21 units of 13.43 *hat* each. Just as in the first gallery, this length is measured from the pilasters that abut the doorways of the corridor. In other words, it includes the very limits of the solid structure of each corridor.

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[63] The central three galleries at Angkor Wat each have a standard number of steps in their staircases. The third gallery has 11 steps to a staircase, the second gallery 21 and the first gallery 28. These steps are shown on all the general ground plans of the galleries in Nafilyan, *Angkor Vat*.

[64] These steps can be easily counted on Pl. XXVIII; Passages Couverts; Ier Étage; Plan d'Ensemble; Échelle 1/100.

[65] The exact length is 20.97 units of 13.43 *hat* for each corridor. The length of the northern and southern corridors is 114.24 and 114.22 meters, respectively. These lengths are written on Pl. XI. A total of 8.40 m. has to be added to obtain the full length of the corridor, between the door pilasters. This length is based on written numbers and includes the distance from the center of each corner chamber out to the door pilaster. Thus, there are 122.64 m. or 281.64 *hat* for the northern corridor and 122.62 m. or 281.59 *hat* for the southern corridor. Both *hat* measurements yield 20.97 units of 13.43 *hat* each.

The exterior axes of this gallery have a very unusual arrangement. First of all, the main western staircase measures exactly 13.43 *hat* up to the threshold of the entrance chamber.[66] However, this staircase also terminates a 21-unit extension that began at the first step of the cruciform terrace on the west[67] (Fig. 10). That is, from the moment the visitor stepped into the stairs of the cruciform terrace, he or she began a 21-unit journey that would eventually introduce the second gallery. This journey is travelled in units of 13.43 *hat,* the key to both the numerology of the second gallery and the position of the north celestial pole as seen from Angkor Wat. Because this 21 unit distance includes the western staircase to the gallery, the staircase was apparently excluded from the axial measurements of this middle sector of Angkor Wat.

When the axes of the second gallery are measured from the base of the substructure to the western threshold of the western entrance chamber, they

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[66] The first section of this staircase is shaded by the roofs of the cruciform passageway between the third and second galleries. The next two sections steeply ascend through two dark antechambers. As one climbs this staircase, the first gallery comes into view in stages. In a sense, this 13.43 *hat* staircase introduces Mt. Meru numerically and visually.

The staircase measures 5.85 m. or 13.43 *hat* from its first step on up to the threshold of the main chamber. The length of the first section of the stairway was estimated from Pl. XXVIII at 1.81 m. (1.81 cm. on the plan). The next two sections, including the threshold, were written as 4.72 m., for a total of 6.53 m. in all. Since the threshold is not included in the measurement of the staircase, its .68 m. length was estimated from Pl. XXVIII and subtracted from the total. The result is 5.85 m. or 13.43 *hat.*

[67] There are 118.05 m. between the first step of the cruciform terrace and the first step of the main western entrance to the second gallery. This figure is equivalent to 271.10 *hat* or 20.19 units of 13.43 *hat.* When the staircase is added as a last 13.43 unit, the result is 21.19. The full distance was determined by first noting the distance between the center of the temple and the western end of the cruciform terrace (192.85 m.). Then, the 23.88 m. (Pl. XI) length to the center of the western corridor of the second gallery was subtracted from this length to give 168.97 m. Finally, the remaining 10.64 m. to the beginning of the western staircase of the second gallery was subtracted for a total of 118.05 m. between the first step of this staircase and the first step of the terrace. Exactly 1.81 m. of the length of the staircase was estimated from Pl. XXVIII. Otherwise, the final length was derived from written measurements.

equal 45 units of 13.43 *hat*[68] (Fig. 11). The western staircase is the 21st member in a sequence based on units of 13.43 *hat*. Since Brahmā is so closely related to the north pole (in the *vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala*, for example) he would also be associated with 13.43· Now it would appear that Brahmā is a 21st divinity. At least, the second gallery associates the number 21 with all the other numbers that symbolize Brahmā.

Because the full axial length of this gallery is equivalent to 45, it symbolizes a complete *yantra*. However, when the ground length of the central northern staircase is subtracted from the full axial length the result is 44 units of 13.43 *hat*.[69] (One could also subtract the length of the identical southern staircase for the same result.) Therefore, taking away the 21 steps of this staircase leaves an incomplete *yantra*. Subtracting the 21 steps leaves an axial length of 44. Brahmā is missing in a *yantra* of only 44 divinities.

The arbitrary removal of the northern (or even the southern) staircase suggests that Brahmā is equivalent to the 21 *devas*. In addition, the circum-

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[68] The average west-east and north-south axes to the center of each corridor are 114.23 and 94.035 m. These averages are derived from the written figures on Pl. XI for each side of the gallery (114.24 m. on the north, 114.22 south, 94.95 east and 95.12 west). The distance between the center of each corridor and the base of the substructure is 16.225 m. on the south, 16.335 m. on the north and 17.36 m. on the east. These are also written figures, except for the base which was estimated at .32 m. from Pl. XLIII; Pavillon d'Entrée Sud de IIe Enceinte; Plan; Échelle 1/100 and Pl. XLVI; Pavillon d'Entrée Est de IIe Enceinte; Plan; Échelle 1/100. The distance between the center of the western corridor and the doorway to the main western chamber (threshold included) is 4.79 m. When these components are added together they give 114.23, 94.035, 16.225, 16.325, 17.36 and 4.97 m. for a total of 262.965 m. or 603.89 *hat*. When the *hat* length is divided by 13.43 the result is 44.97 units.

[69] The northern staircase measures 5.33 m. from its base to the edge of the upper porch. Only the base was estimated from Pl. XLIII at .32 m., the rest of the measurement was written. The southern staircase is slightly longer, at 5.43 m. according to written figures. Again, the base was estimated from Pl. XLIII. These two lengths yield 12.24 *hat* for the northern stairway and 12.47 *hat* for the southern. The length of the axes is 603.89 *hat* (see n. 68 above). When 12.24 *hat* is subtracted from the full axial length, the result is 591.65 *hat* or 44.05 units of 13.43 *hat* each. Subtracting the 12.47 *hat* of the southern stairway gives 591.42 *hat* or 44.04 units of 13.43 *hat* each.

ambulation path forms a 21st unit. A circumambulation of the second gallery also includes the distance between the western and eastern thresholds in the western entrance chamber. This particular measurement has been consistent. in all three central galleries. When the circumambulation route is completed, it measures a total of 980.30 *hat*[70] (Fig. 12). This number has no particular meaning until it is divided by the number of chambers that constitute the physical structure of the gallery. When 980.30 is divided by 49 the result is 20.006. The circumambulation path itself would make up the last and final, all-inclusive 21st unit.

In brief, the circumambulation path is a combination of both geometrical and numerical data. Anyone circumambulating the gallery would walk through the 49 chambers that are numerically equated to the area of a 49 square *yantra* field. These chambers or squares in the *yantra* are the basis for the concept of Brahmā as a 21st additive and inclusive divinity. First of all, they change the length of the circumambulation path into 20 units when their number is used as a divisor. Secondly, they physically constitute the path of circumambulation, the 21st all-encompassing unit.

In this subtle numerical and geometric interplay, the concept of Brahmā as a 21st deity is dependent on the 49 square *yantra.* When supplemented by the information in the axial lengths (44+21=45), the position of Brahmā in the *yantra* is also numerically clarified. In addition, the 13.43 *hat* unit used along the northern and southern corridors, in the 21-unit introduction to the gallery on the west and in the axial lengths of the gallery, defines Brahmā in geophysical terms. In this manner, the second gallery very thoroughly elaborates the nature of this divinity. It also fully illustrates the importance of the number 21. Since the Khmers seemed to regard this number as additive and inclusive, as illustrated in the second gallery, it must have been related to the concept of the number 33. If so, there is even more reason to believe that the date of the king's 21st year would have been as important as the date of his 33rd.

The middle gallery of Angkor Wat stands in a very interesting relationship to its companion galleries. When the number 21 which dominates the second gallery is combined with the number 33 which dominates the upper

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[70] The circumference of the second gallery is 418.53 m. according to the written figures on Pl. XI. The west-east axis of the main western chamber is 8.34 m., according to written figures. This gives a total of 426.87 m. or 980.30 *hat* for the full circumambulation path.

elevation, the result is 54. Even though the third gallery does not share in this grouping of divinities, it is embraced by the 21-unit western extension (or "arm") of the second gallery. Therefore, the second gallery gives a touch of divinity to the gallery of bas-reliefs while it joins with the first gallery to complete the number of *devas* at the north celestial pole.

In the end, each gallery has its own particular character. The upper elevation defines divinity in terms of time and space. The middle elevation completes the definition by describing the numerology and configuration of a *yantra.* The third gallery illustrates how divinity was related to the Khmers in the 12th century and to Sūryavarman II as their ruler.

The preceding journey through Angkor Wat can now be briefly retraced.

A visitor to the temple would enter into the periphery of its major *yantra* while walking across the entrance bridge. This distance begins a 32 unit journey to the upper elevation on the north, south and west. As one crosses the bridge, its 432 unit span suggests that the *kali yuga* has been left behind. Whether the visitor continues due west or proceeds north or south, he or she would cross through all four *yuga* periods before leaving the temple grounds. Along the western axis of the temple, there are a series of lunar and solar alignments that could be studied during the year.

Eventually, a visitor would cross the courtyard and begin an approach of 21 units to the second gallery. Before reaching this preserve of Brahmā, however, one must circumambulate the third gallery.

During the lengthy circumambulation of the third gallery, the visitor experiences the union of Sūryavarman II, the 21 *devas* and the *kṛta yuga.* An astronomer might also decipher the bas-relief of the procession of divinities in the northwest corner tower. If so, a date would appear that may have signified the consecration of the main image of Viṣṇu at Angkor Wat.

Leaving this gallery behind, a smaller circumambulation is undertaken in the second gallery. Here, the identity of the *vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala* and Brahmā is thoroughly established. This gallery illustrates the nature of Brahmā as a 21st and 45th all-inclusive unit.

As the visitor walks out onto the porch of this gallery, the upper elevation quite suddenly appears in its full height. A *kṛta yuga* length has carried the visitor to the abode of the gods at Angkor Wat. Since this home also comprises a 33rd unit in a sequence of 32, it represents a Supreme Deity as both the ground and manifestation of the universe. Time and space change on this elevation.

From the moment the visitor crosses the bridge to Angkor Wat, numerology leads to the central sanctuary. The configuration of the large *yantra* begins with 32 around the periphery of the temple and ends with Brahmā in the central sanctuary. The *yuga* periods slowly carry the visitor from the *kali yuga* of the bridge through to the end of the *kṛta yuga*. These periods become better and better as one nears the upper elevation.

When historical time is depicted in the third gallery, it is shown in relation to divinity. With this introduction to the presence of the *devas* and *Viṣṇu*, the visitor goes on to circumambulate the second gallery. This circumambulation numerically elevates the pilgrim to the abode of Brahmā, a 21st divinity. Mt. Meru is further dissected in the final elevation of Angkor Wat. Both the first gallery and the central tower define the cosmic mountain in geophysical and temporal measurements. While terrestrial time circumambulates the cosmic mountain, precession is slowing down the passage of time for the *devas*.

Having reached the heights of the last elevation, our visitor would then enter into the darkness of the central sanctuary. Outside, the 12 *ādityas* rule the disposition of the staircases and the measurements of the elevation. Inside, the small central sanctuary is the earth itself. At one point in history, Sūryavarman II stood here facing the main image of Viṣṇu for the first time. When the eyes of the statue were opened, Viṣṇu was born in this womb of the temple. His birth may well have coincided with the 33rd year in the life of the king. It would also have taken place in a 33rd spatial unit at Angkor Wat. This moment epitomized the principle of non-duality in the apparent dichotomy of divinity and royalty, spirituality and matter.

From that moment on, Viṣṇu awaited the visitor in the central sanctuary of Angkor Wat. Above and below his home on earth, the poles of Mt. Meru still reach toward the zenith and nadir. As the visitor stands at the very heart of Angkor Wat, time stops, divinity and space merge and a long numerical journey ends in infinity.

TABLE 1
MEASUREMENT CHART

Definition	Meters/*Hat*	Other Units
1. Western *kṛta yuga* between first step of bridge and east threshold, main west entrance chamber, second gallery	752.47 m. 1,728.03 *hat*	16 units of 108 *hat* each
2. Length between east threshold, main west entrance chamber, second gallery and end of walkway to upper elevation	14.82 m. 34.03 *hat*	
3. Eastern *kṛta yuga* between end of walkway to upper elevation and eastern border of moat	755.97 m. 1,736.07 *hat*	16.08 units of 108 *hat* each
4. *Kṛta yuga* of circumambulation path, third gallery	752.63 m. 1,728.40 *hat*	16 units of 108 *hat* each
5. North-south axial width of temple compound	1,292.06 m. 1,967.18 *hat*	27.47 units of 108 *hat* each
6. *Kṛta yuga* between first step of south porch, third gallery and north border of moat	755.22 m. 1,734.34 *hat*	16.06 units of 108 *hat* each
7. *Kṛta yuga* between first step of north porch, third gallery and south border of moat	750.88 m. 1,724.38 *hat*	15.97 units of 108 *hat* each
8. Suggested Śaka date in length between center of temple and inner border of moat on north	452.175 m. 1,038.41 *hat*	1116 A. D. 1038 Śaka
9. Suggested Śaka date in length between center of temple and inner border of moat on south	444.885 m. 1,021.67 *hat*	1099 A. D. 1021 Śaka
10. Suggested Śaka date of exterior axes, third gallery (excluding base) and measured to (including) west threshold, west antechamber, west en-	453.37 m. 1,041.15 *hat*	1119 A. D. 1041 Śaka

Definition	Meters/*Hat*	Other Units
trance of gallery		
11. Full extension of exterior axes, third gallery (excluding base) and measured to bottom step of stairway, extreme west end of gallery	459.86 m. 1,056.06 *hat*	32 × 33 = 1056
12. Each half of span of bridge, between sides of central projection and lateral cross arms of bridge	94.075 m. 216.03 *hat*	54.01 *phyeam* 2 units of 108 *hat* each
13. Distance between south, central portico, main west entrance, fourth enclosure and southwest corner of fourth enclosure	375.50 m. 862.33 *hat*	7.99 units of 108 *hat* each
14. Distance between north, central portico, main west entrance, fourth enclosure and northwest corner of fourth enclosure	376.60 m. 864.85 *hat*	8.01 units of 108 *hat* each
15. Distance between southwest corner, fourth enclosure and doorway of south entrance, fourth enclosure	564.43 m. 1,296.20 *hat*	12 units of 108 *hat* each
16. Distance between northwest corner, fourth enclosure and doorway of north entrance, fourth enclosure	563.28 m. 1,293.56 *hat*	11.98 units of 108 *hat* each
17. Distance between doorway of south entrance, fourth enclosure and first step of south staircase, first gallery	374.63 m. 860.31 *hat*	7.97 units of 108 *hat* each
18. Distance between doorway of north entrance, fourth enclosure and first step of north staircase, first gallery	377.45 m. 866.81 *hat*	8.02 units of 108 *hat* each
19. Circumambulation path of first gallery	198.16 m. 455.07 *hat*	33.89 units of 13.43 *hat* each
20. Length of each side of first gallery, between outer pilasters on opposite doorways of corridor	57.92 m. 133.01 *hat*	33.25 *phyeam*
21. Total vertical length of central	57.77 m.	33.17 *phyeam*

Definition	Meters/*Hat*	Other Units
tower	132.67 *hat*	
22. Vertical length of central tower with 4 *hat trtśūla* included (one *hat* of *triśūla* extends into hole in capstone)	135.67 *hat*	33.92 *phyeam*
23. *Tretā yuga* between middle of bridge and first doorway of west entrance, third gallery	562.61 m. 1,292.02 *hat*	
24. *Dvāpara yuga* between first step of porch, main west entrance, fourth enclosure and east end of causeway	376.665 m. 865.00 *hat*	
25. Interior west-east axis of central sanctuary, between thresholds	5.91 m. 13.50 *hat*	
26. Interior north-south axis of central sanctuary, between thresholds	5.85 m. 13.43 *hat*	
27. Length of shaft below central sanctuary, between sacred deposit and floor of sanctuary	23.45 m. 53.85 *hat*	
28. Height of central sanctuary between floor and square indentation marking start of round tower	11.975 m. 27.50 *hat*	
29. Height of round tower between square indentation at top of sanctuary and top of capstone	22.345 m. 51.32 *hat*	
30. Height of round tower, including 4 *hat triśūla* (one *hat* of *triśūla* extends into hole in capstone)	54.32 *hat*	
31. Height of each corner tower, from floor of main chamber to top of capstone	23.615 m. 54.23 *hat*	
32. Distance between floor of each corner tower and level of sacred deposit :		
southwest tower	23.31 m.	

Definition	Meters/*Hat*	Other Units
	53.53 *hat*	
southeast tower	23.35 m.	
	53.62 *hat*	
northeast tower	23.46 m.	
	53.88 *hat*	
northwest tower	23.55 m.	
	54.08 *hat*	
33. Exterior axes of first gallery, including bases of substructure on north, south and east, to walkway on west	159.20 m. 365.60 *hat*	
34. Exterior axes of first gallery, excluding bases	157.89 m. 362.60 *hat*	27 × 13.43 = 362.60
35. Exterior axes of central tower between bottom step on each side of tower	39.785 m. 91.37 *hat*	
36. West-east axis of temple, excluding the projecting west trefoil of bridge	1,504.915 m. 3,456.00 *hat*	32 units of 108 *hat* each
37. Length of sides of second gallery between outer door pilasters of opposite doorways of corridor :		
north corridor	122.64 m. 281.64 *hat*	20.97 units of 13.43 *hat* each
south corridor	122.62 m. 281.59 *hat*	20.97 units of 13.43 *hat* each
38. Length of west staircase, main west entrance, second gallery, from bottom step to threshold of entrance chamber	5.85 m. 13.43 *hat*	
39. Distance between first step of cruciform terrace and west doorway, main west entrance chamber, second gallery	123.90 m. 284.53 *hat*	21.19 units of 13.43 *hat* each
40. Exterior axes, second gallery, including bases of substructure on north,	262.965 m. 603.89 *hat*	44.97 units of 13.43 *hat* each

Definition	Meters/*Hat*	Other Units
south and east and the west threshold of main, west entrance chamber on the west		
41. Exterior axes, second gallery, excluding northern or southern staircase :	257.635 m. 591.65 *hat*	44.05 units of 13.43 *hat* each
	257.535 m. 591.42 *hat*	44.04 units of 13.43 *hat* each
northern staircase	5.33 m. 12.24 *hat*	
southern staircase	5.43 m. 12.47 *hat*	
42. Circumambulation path of second gallery	426.87 m. 980.30 *hat*	20 units of 49 *hat* each

TABLE 2

PLANETARY INFORMATION FOR JULY 24th THROUGH JULY 29th, 1131 A. D.

Planet	Date	Rising	Setting	Azimuth from North	Altitude
Mars	24th	4.35	17.14	60.444	—16.250 W.
	25th	4.34	17.12	60.439	—16.466 W.
	26th	4.32	17.10	60.437	—16.681 W.
	27th	4.30	17.08	60.439	—16.895 W.
	28th	4.28	17.06	60.444	—17.108 W.
	29th	4.27	17.04	60.452	—17.321 W.
Venus	24th	4.00	16.52	64.533	—25.418 W.
	25th	3.92	16.45	64.041	—26.313 W.
	26th	3.85	16.38	63.552	—27.163 W.
	27th	3.78	16.31	63.067	—27.968 W.
	28th	3.71	16.25	62.589	—28.729 W.
	29th	3.65	16.18	62.118	—29.447 W.
Mercury	24th	4.49	17.16	64.093	—16.524 W.
	25th	4.46	17.13	63.793	—16.714 W.
	26th	4.44	17.12	63.557	—16.798 W.
	27th	4.43	17.12	63.390	—16.781 W.
	28th	4.43	17.12	63.293	—16.666 W.
	29th	4.44	17.13	63.268	—16.458 W.
Jupiter	24th	18.05	5.36	112.664	4.514 E.
	25th	17.98	5.28	112.970	5.443 E.
	26th	17.90	5.21	113.281	6.366 E.
	27th	17.83	5.13	113.598	7.284 E.
	28th	17.76	5.06	113.922	8.196 E.
	29th	17.68	4.98	114.252	9.102 E.
Saturn	24th	12.41	23.96	173.540	62.772 W.
	25th	12.34	23.90	171.682	62.648 W.
	26th	12.28	23.83	169.849	62.498 W.
	27th	12.21	23.77	168.045	62.321 W.
	28th	12.15	23.71	166.272	62.119 W.
	29th	12.09	23.64	164.533	61.893 W.

SOURCE: The information in this table was calculated by Prof. Antonio Guarnieri, Geodesics School, Universidad del Zulia, Maracaibo, Venezuela. The data is given for the time of sunset.

Fig. 1. Angkor Wat is divided into distinctive spatial sections. The moat and the fourth enclosure isolate the temple from the world around it. Inside, the flat and expansive grounds make the crowded ascent of the central three galleries stand out in high relief. The visitor is inexorably directed to the central tower by the causeway and interconnected passages along the west-east axis. Once inside the central tower, an enclosed and vertically directed darkness completes a transition from the broad and airy view at the western entrance.

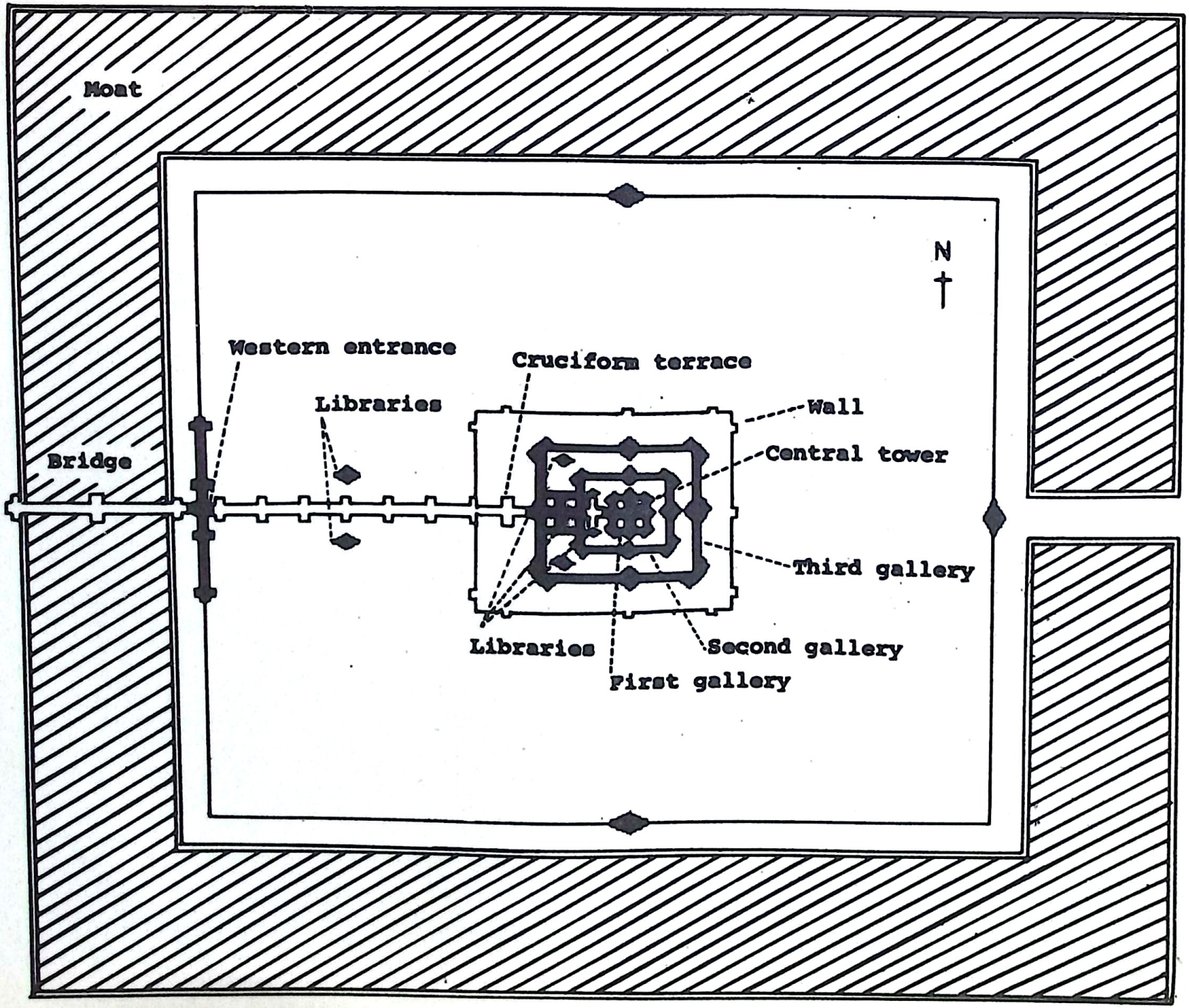

Moat
N
Western entrance
Cruciform terrace
Libraries
Wall
Bridge
Central tower
Third gallery
Libraries
Second gallery
First gallery

Fig. 2. Four *kṛta yuga* distances expand outward from the central area of Angkor Wat to the periphery of the moat. There are two *kṛta yugas* along the west-east axis (A-B and C-D) and two along the north-south axis (G-H and E-F). Included in the dimensions of the north-south axis are a 1038 *hat* length on the north (center of temple to I) and a 1021 *hat* length on the south (center of temple to J). These latter distances may be dates in the Śaka era. (Based on Pl. II, *Angkor Vat.*)

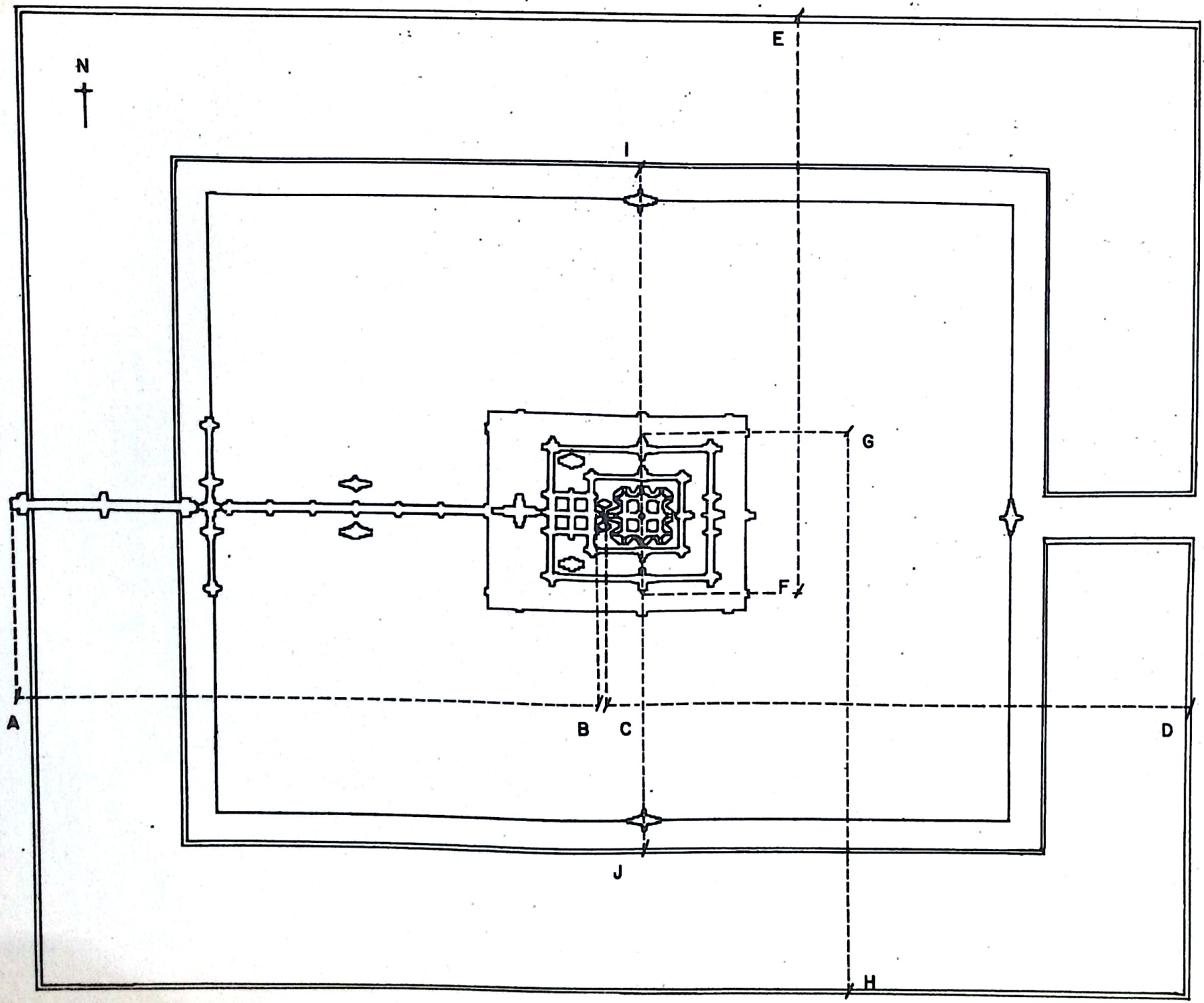

N
E
I
G
F
A
B
C
D
J
H

Fig. 3. The circumambulation path of the third gallery measures 1,728 *hat*. As in the other two galleries, this path begins inside the western doorway of the main western entrance and ends at the eastern doorway of the same entrance. In other words, the distance includes the west-east axis of the entrance chamber. (Based on Pl. III, *Angkor Vat*.)

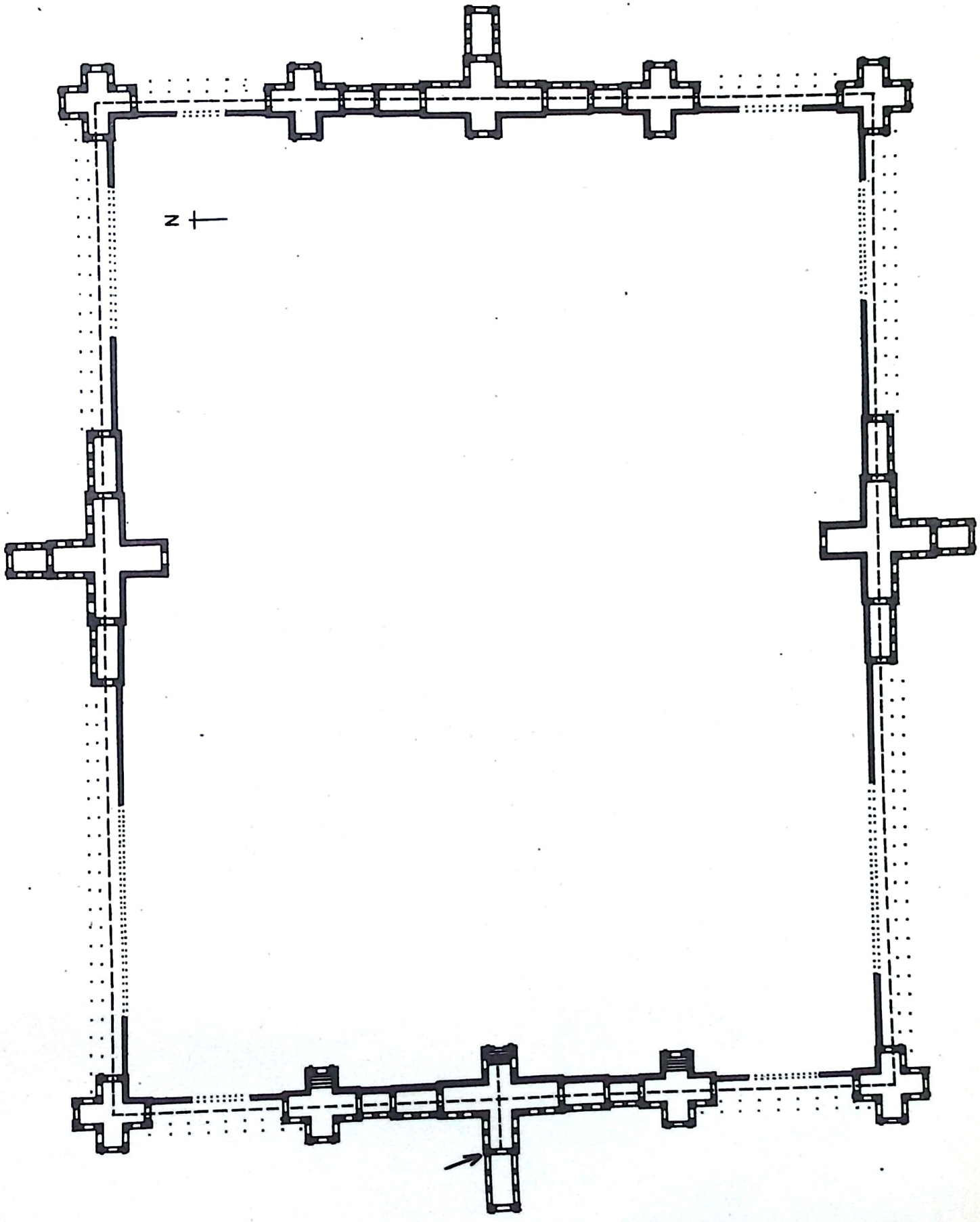

N

Fig. 4. The western entrance of the third gallery terminates two alternate axial lengths. When the axes are measured to the main, western antechamber they total 1041 *hat* (the shorter distance). When the axes are measured to the bottom of the western porch, they total 1056 *hat*. The shorter distance may be a date in the Śaka era and the longer distance is the product of 32 and 33. (Based on Pl. XXVIII, *Angkor Vat.*)

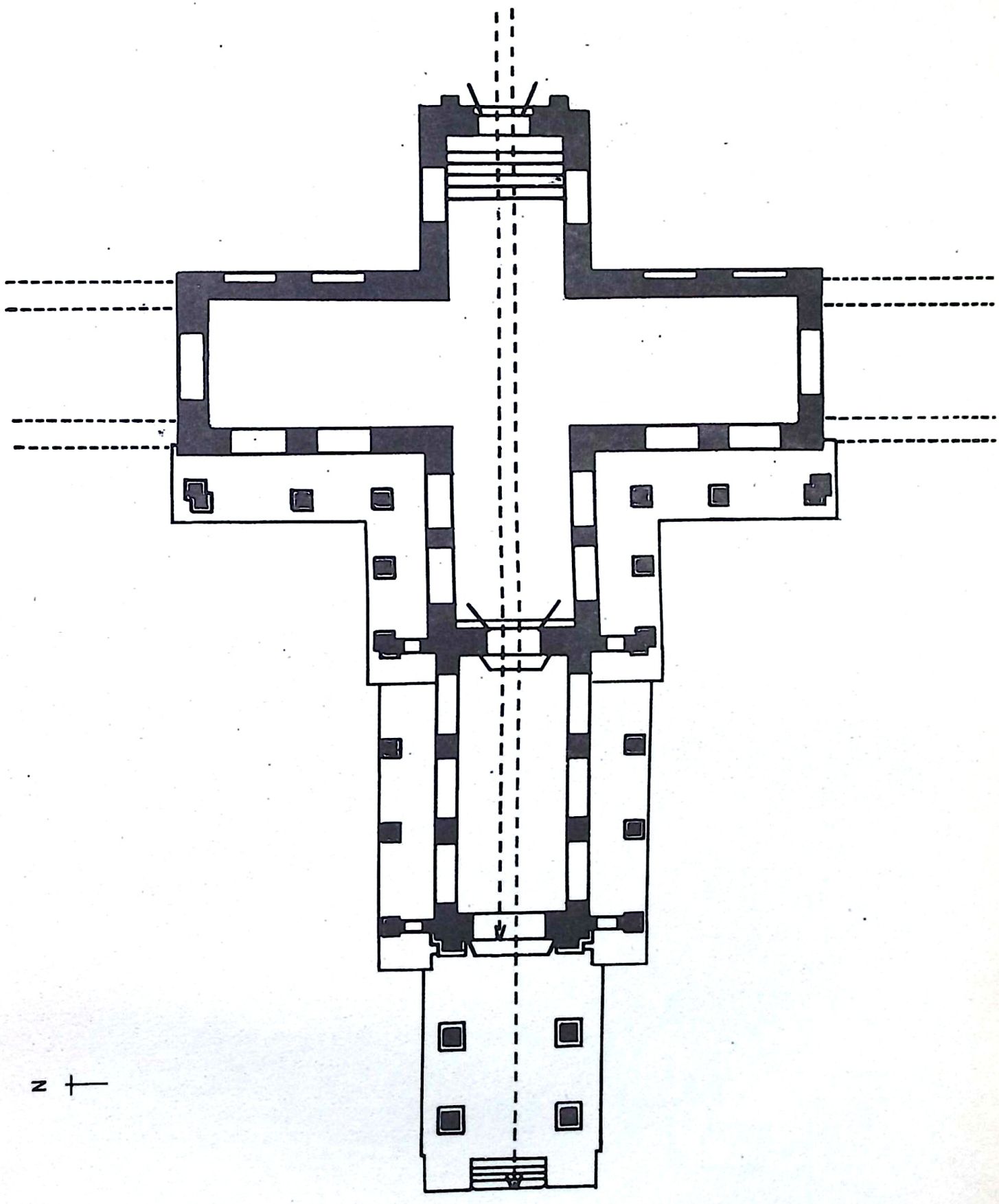
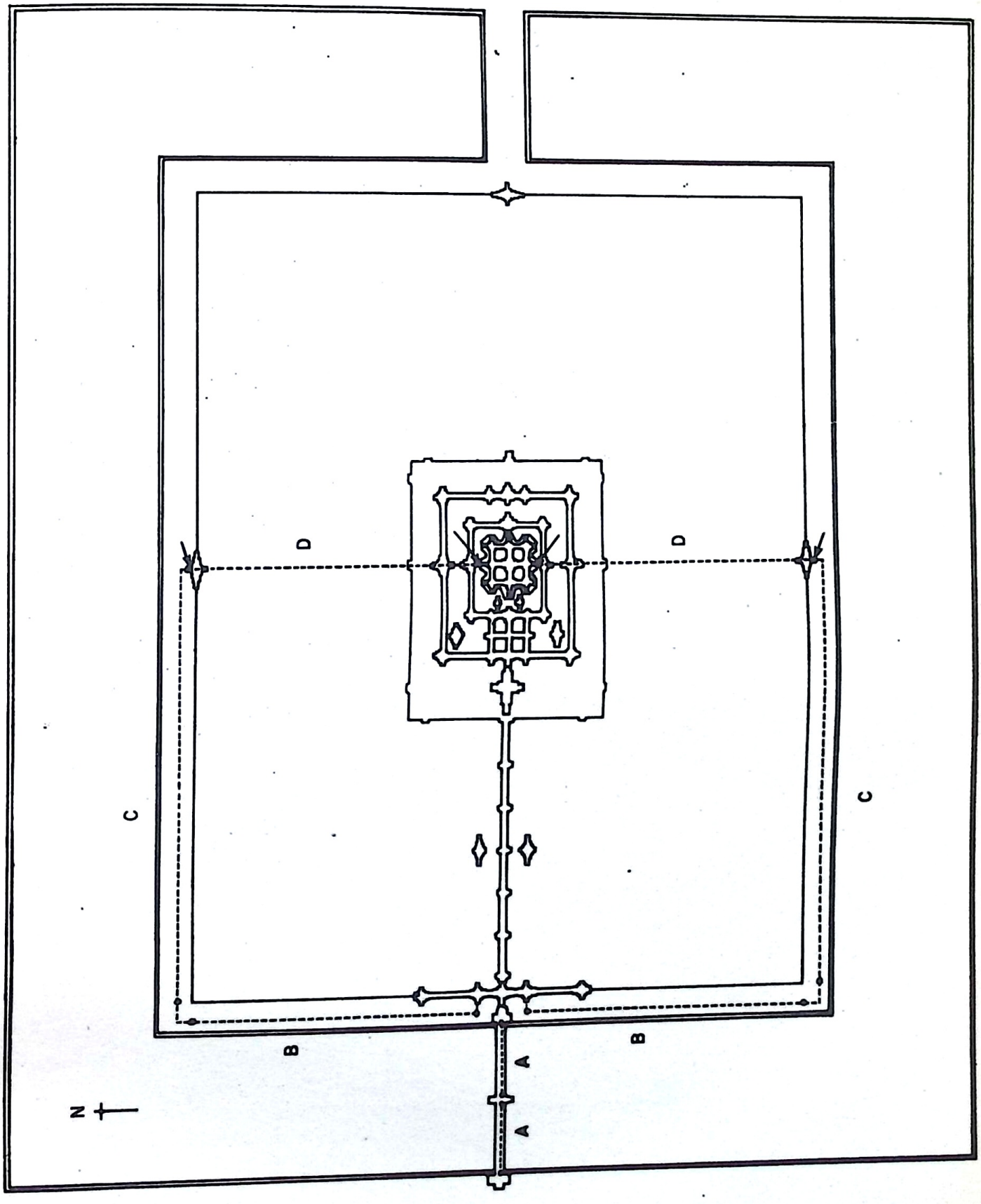

N

Fig. 5. Two routes to the upper elevation begin with the western entrance bridge. There are 432 *hat* over the bridge (A) and 864 *hat* to the corner of the fourth enclosure (B). From that point, there are 1,296 *hat* to the doorway of the entrance chamber on the north or south (C). The distance between that doorway and the first step of the staircase leading to the upper elevation is 864 *hat* (D). These two routes may also be considered in units of 108 *hat*, producing a total of 32 larger units for the full length on the north or south. (Based on Pl. II, *Angkor Vat*.)


D
D
C
C
B
B
A
A
N

. Fig. 6. The central tower is divided into three major sections. The height of the round tower (B-D) and the subterranean shaft (E-F) is 54 *hat* each. The sanctuary itself is 27 *hat* high (D-E). The vertical extent of the tower (B-F) measures 33 *phyeam* without a 4 *hat* finial and close to 34 *phyeam* with the finial (A-F). (Not to scale.)

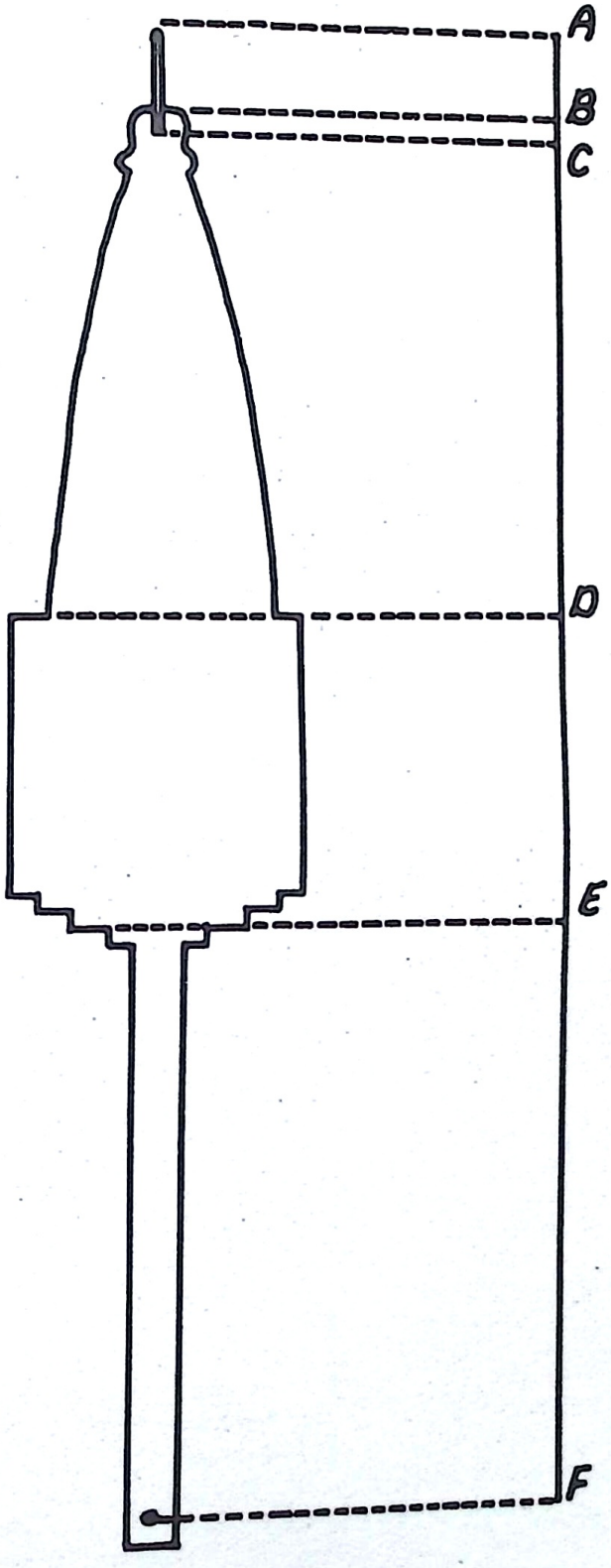

A
B
C
D
E
F

Fig. 7. The four *yuga* periods are arranged along the west-east axis of Angkor Wat. The *kali yuga* (A) is outside the temple proper. The *dvāpara yuga* (B) extends from the porch of the western entrance to the balustrade wall at the end of the causeway. The *tretā yuga* (C) begins at the center of the bridge and ends at the first western doorway into the third gallery. The *kṛta yuga* (D) begins with the first step into the bridge and ends at the eastern doorway of the main, western entrance of the second gallery.

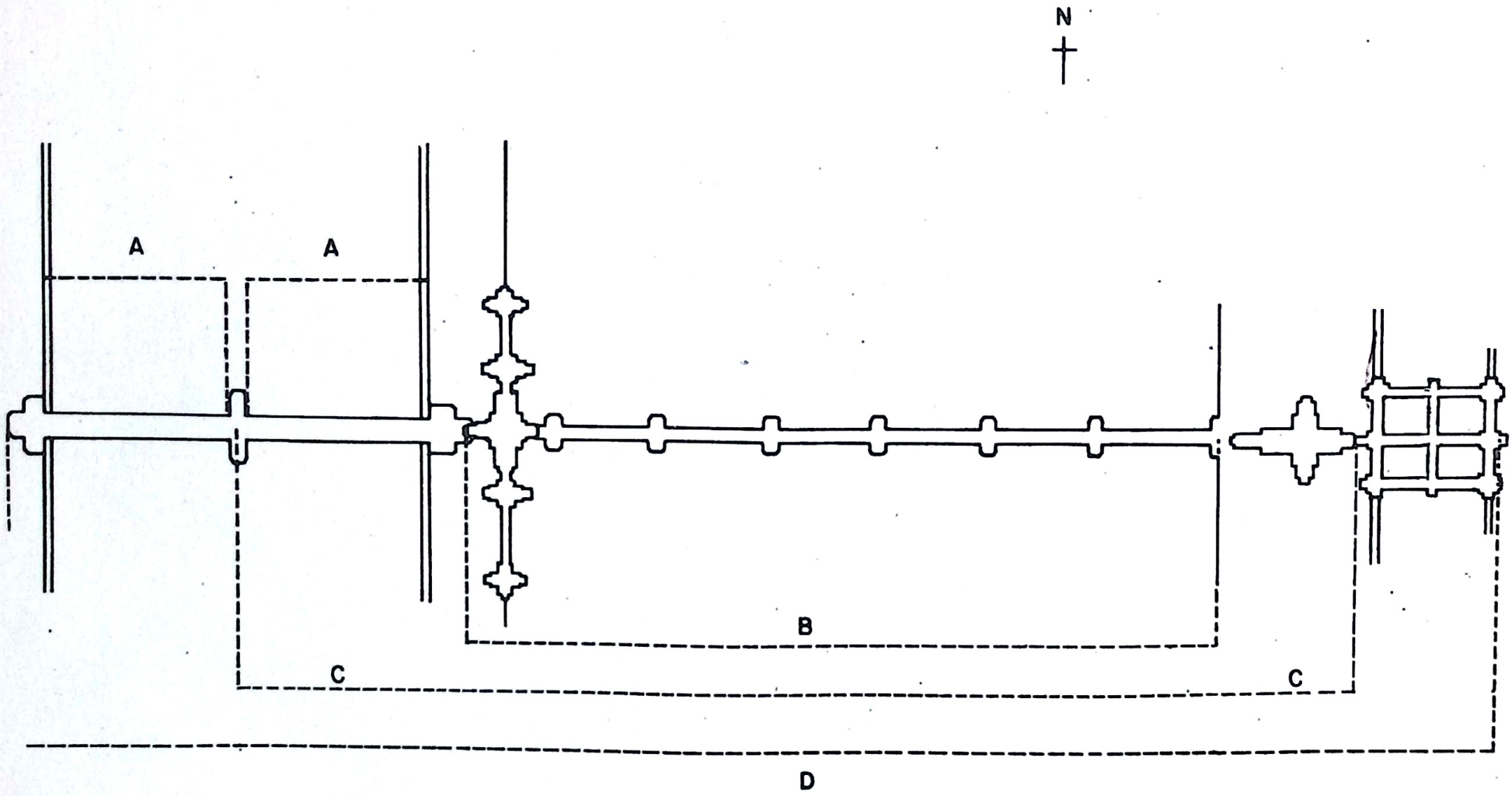

N
A
A
B
C
C
D

Fig. 8. The axes of the upper elevation total 362.60 *hat* between the short walkway on the west and the bottom of the stairways on the north, south and east. This total is the product of 13.43 and 27, numbers relevant to a definition of the position of the north pole at Angkor Wat. When the base of the substructure is included in the axial length, it adds one more *hat* on the north, south and east. . In this latter distance, the axes total 365.60 *hat*, closely approximating the length of a solar year.

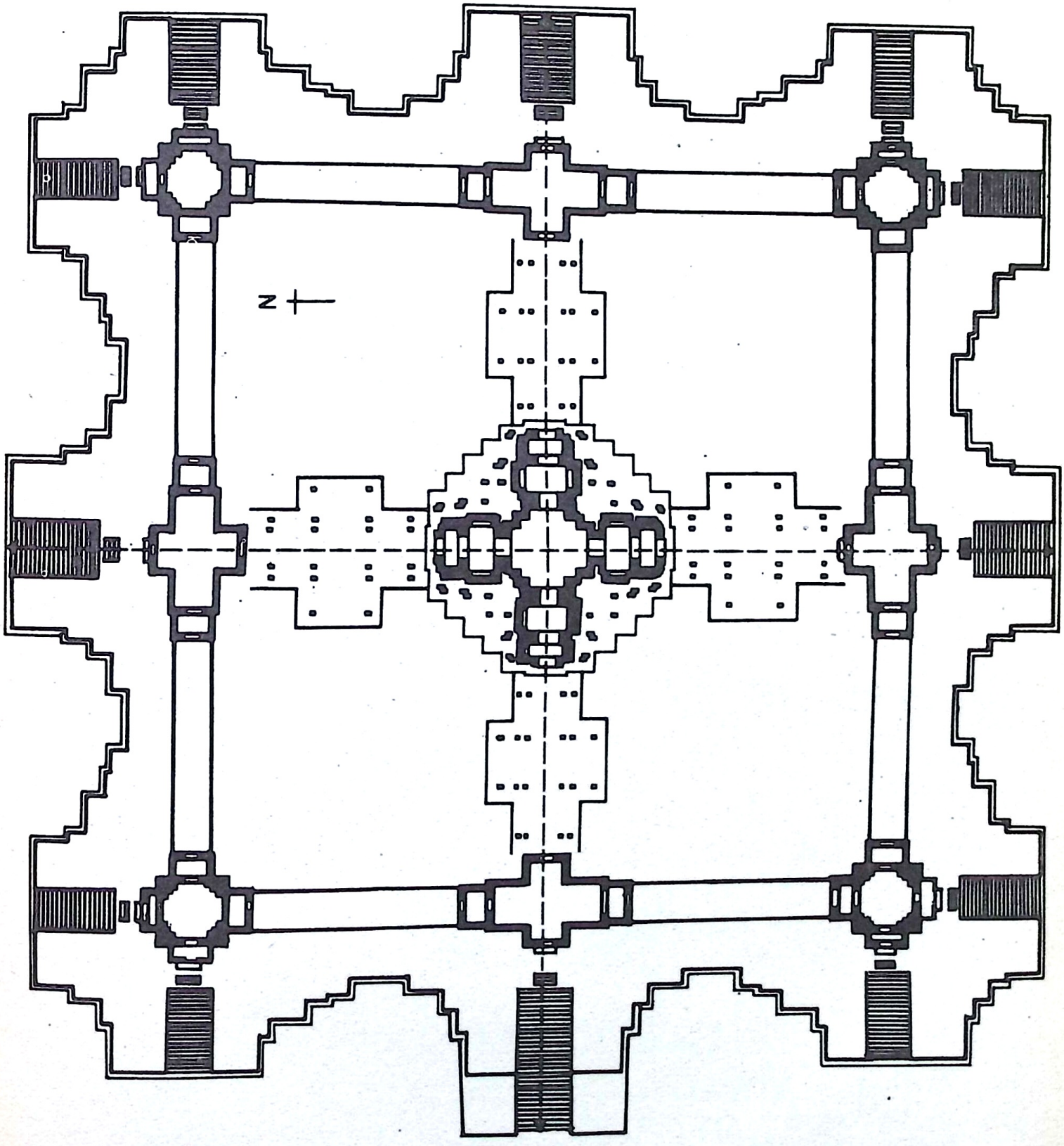

N

Fig. 9. The axes of the central tower extend for 91.37 *hat* between the bottom step on each side of the tower. They numerically approach the average period of time between the solstice and equinox points in the year, or 91.31 days. (Based on Pl. XIV, *Angkor Vat.*)

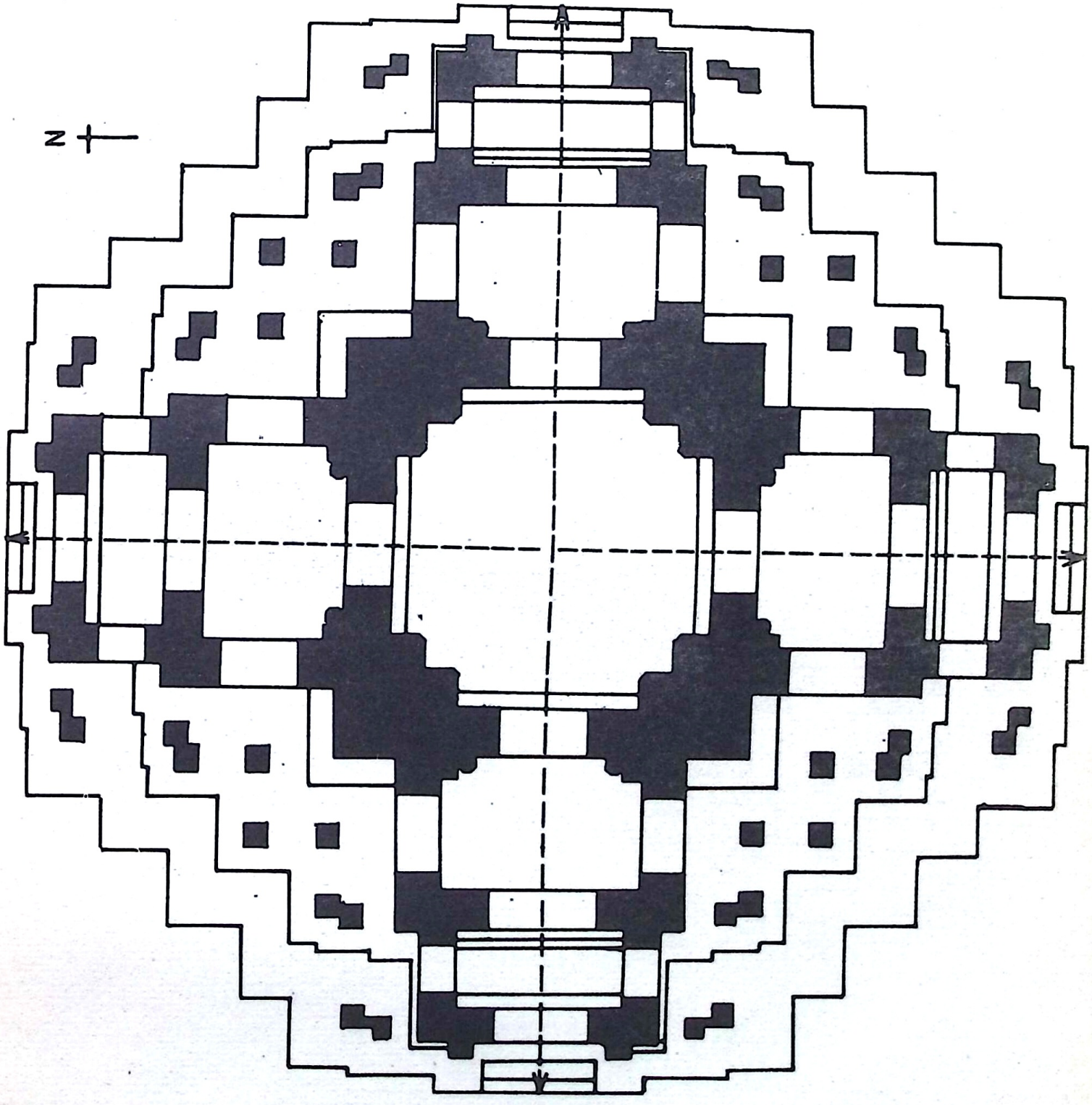

z

Fig. 10. The distance between the first step of the cruciform terrace on the west and the western doorway to the main, western entrance of the second gallery is 21 units of 13.43 *hat* each (A-B).

B
A
N

Fig. 11. The lengths of the two axes of the second gallery total 13.43 *hat*, including the width of the base of the substructure. The west-east axis extends to the western doorway of the main, western entrance chamber. When the length of the northern stairway is excluded from the axes, the result is 44 units of 13.43 *hat* each.

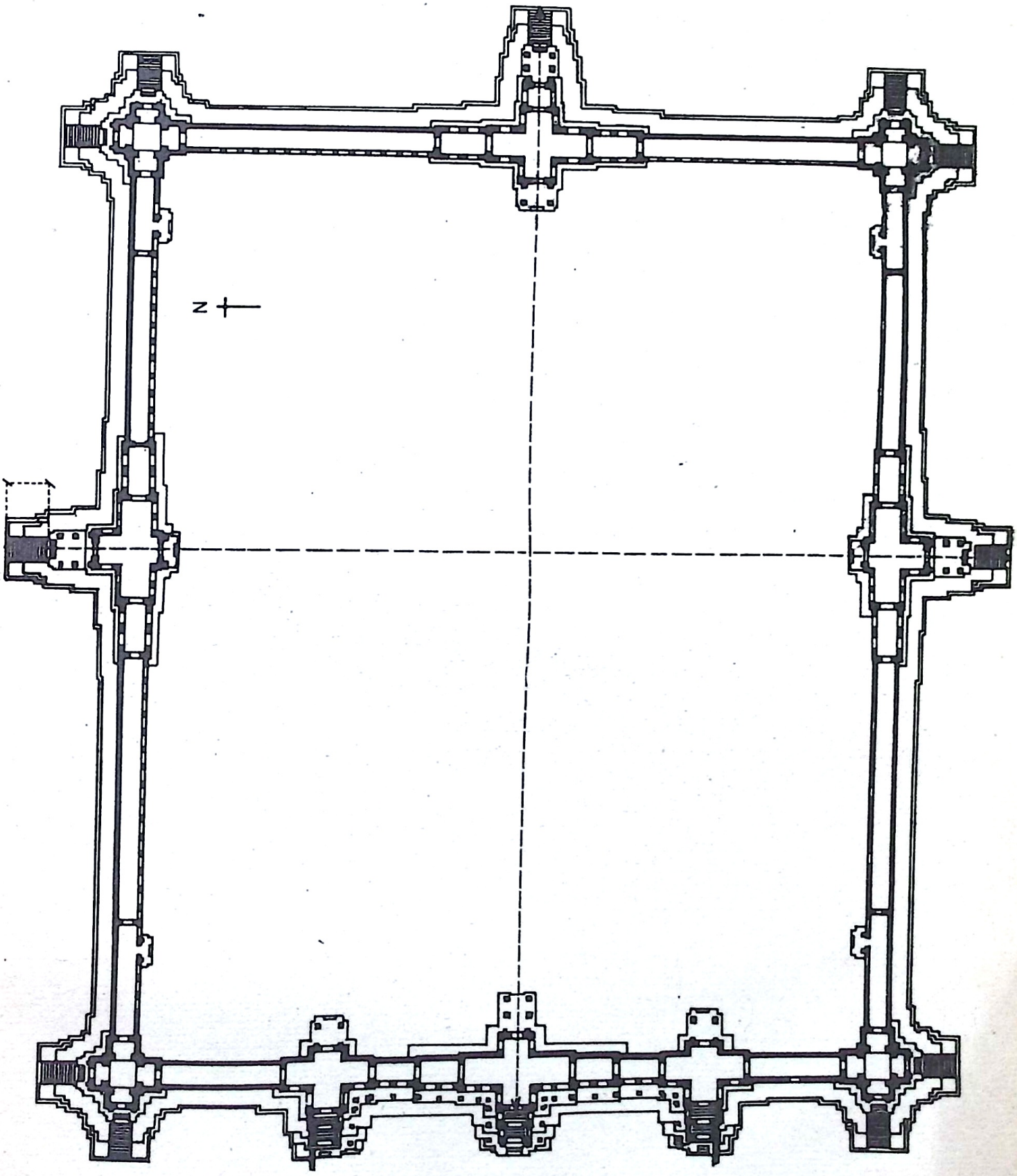
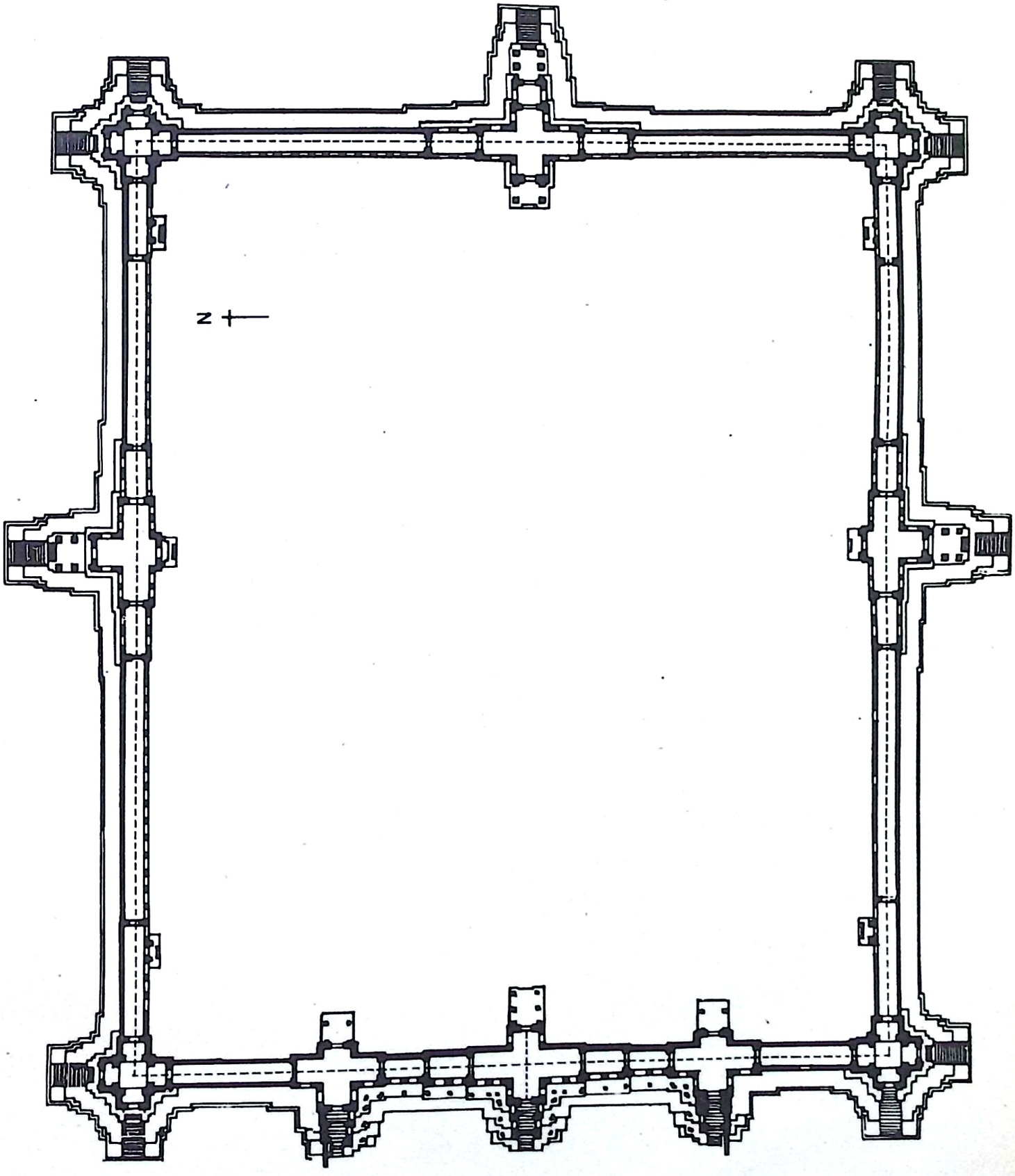

N

Fig. 12. A circumambulation of the second gallery carries the visitor through 980 *hat* or 20 units of 49 *hat* each. The 980 *hat* path is actually divisible by the 49 chambers that constitute the gallery. (Each architectural section has door hinges, which means each section could once have been closed off as a separate chamber.) When the gallery itself is added to its 20 unit extension, it provides a literally all-encompassing 21st unit. As in the other two galleries, the circumambulation path includes the west-east interior axis of the main western entrance chamber.


N